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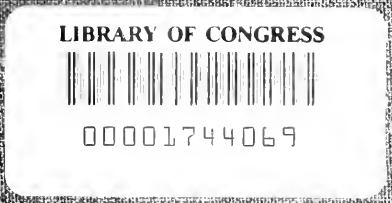

(1835) Thomas Longley

FIRST

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

NEW YORK STATE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

HELD AT

PETERBORO' OCTOBER 22,

1835.

PRINTED AT THE

STANDARD & DEMOCRAT OFFICE,

NO. SIX, WHITESBORO' STREET, UTICA, N. Y.

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MDCCCXXXV.

3 Sheets.—Postage, under 100 miles, 4 1-2 cts.; over 100 miles, 7 1-2 cts.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

NEW YORK ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION,

HELD AT

UTICA, OCTOBER 21,

AND

NEW YORK ANTI-SLAVERY STATE SOCIETY,

HELD AT

Peterboro', October 22, 1835.

PRINTED AT THE

STANDARD & DEMOCRAT OFFICE,

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MDCCCXXXV

MINUTES.

Proceedings of a Convention of Delegates, assembled from various parts of the State of New York, at Utica, in the County of Oneida, on Wednesday, the 21st of October, 1835, *at ten o'clock A. M., in the Bleecker Street Church, agreeable to the following call:—*

TO THE FRIENDS OF IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION IN THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

"If the cordial co-operation and energetic action of the friends of human rights were ever demanded, by the condition of our country and the wrongs of our fellow men, they are so at the present moment. The friends of immediate emancipation, standing as they do on the firm ground of those immutable principles, which are the basis of all true freedom, owe it to the cause of truth and justice to adopt such measures, as shall vindicate the doctrines of American liberty, and prevent our valued republican institutions from becoming a cloak to the most odious and irresponsible despotism. It is plain that the privileges of the free are now doomed as a sacrifice on the altar of perpetual slavery. The whole American people are bound together by common interests and obligations, and it would seem as if a righteous providence has doomed that we shall speedily be all free or all slaves together.

"Believing that we have a high duty to perform in this crisis, and that upon the issue of the present conflict depend both the destinies of human liberty and the blessings of our holy religion, we desire to meet the occasion as becomes men, christians, and Americans. For the purpose of promoting a more extended co-operation and a more vigorous action in this holy cause, we therefore invite a STATE CONVENTION, of the friends of immediate emancipation, to be held in the city of Utica, on Wednesday the 21st of October next, at 10 o'clock A. M., for the purpose of forming a State Anti-Slavery Society, for the State of New York. All anti-slavery societies, recognizing the duty of immediate emancipation, are invited to send delegates. In places where no society is organized, those friendly to the cause are invited to meet and choose delegates. Individuals throughout the state and from other states holding the principles of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and willing to co-operate in their support and extension, are invited to seats in the Convention."

The above call was signed by four hundred and thirty-eight gentlemen, from various parts of the state.

At 10 o'clock, A. M., the Convention was called to order, by Alvan Stewart, Esq., of Utica, and, on motion, the Hon. HENRY BREWSTER, of Riga, Monroe co., was called to the Chair, and Rev. OLIVER WETMORE, of Utica, appointed Secretary.

Prayer was then addressed to the Throne of Grace, by the Secretary of the Convention.

ALVAN STEWART, Esq. of Utica, rose and said, that with the consent of the Convention, he would trespass a few moments upon the time of this numerous and honorable body.

Mr. S. said this was the first Convention which had ever assembled in the United States, under such a remarkable state of facts as those which seem to distinguish this from all public bodies of men who have ever met in this land before. For the last forty days, at least three hundred public presses have poured a continued shower of abuse upon the individuals who called this Convention; characterized by a spirit of vengeance and violence, knowing and proposing nothing but the bitterness of invective, and the cruelty of bloody persecution. He said, our enemies have sent their slanders against us, whispering across the diameter of the globe, telling the haughty and sneering minions of absolutism on the other side of the world, that the sons of the Pilgrims had proved recreant to their lofty lineage, untaithful to their high destiny, untrue to the last hopes of man.

Said Mr. S., is it true that the philanthropy which warms our hearts into action for the suffering slave, can exile our patriotism, and prepare our souls for the most heaven daring guilt? Is it true because we feel for bleeding humanity, that it makes us cruel? Can pity produce it? Can love beget hate? Can an affectionate respect and kind feeling for all the human beings whose lot Providence has cast in these twenty-four States, be evidence that we wish to cut the throats of two and a half millions of our white neighbors, friends, brethren and countrymen! Does a generous regard for the injured slave, imply hatred for the master? If so, the converse of the proposition must be true; that to love the master implies hatred to the slave. Neither proposition is true, yet the enemies of this Convention have acted towards us as though these propositions had the assurance of certainty, as much as we have on a clear day at 12 o'clock at noon, that the sun shines on the world.

Said Mr. S., we have been proclaimed traitors to our own dear native land, because we love its inhabitants. Our humanity is treason, our philanthrophy is incendiarism, our pity for the convulsive yearnings of down trodden man is fanaticism, our treason is the treason of Franklin and Jay, our fanaticism is the fanaticism of Earl Grey and Lord Brougham, and the majority of the wisest heads in proud old England. our sentiments are those expressed by William Wirt, Patrick Henry, and Thomas Jefferson.

Our creed is to be found in the two great witnesses of God's revealed will to man, the old and new testaments. The Declaration of Independence, the Constitutions of our country, and the laws passed

under them, we make the rule of our conduct, in imparting our sentiments to others, on the subject of slavery.

Mr. S. said, the enemies of our noble sentiments and elevated intentions, have resorted to the old heathen track of misrepresentation, and by adding to our code views never promulgated by us, by charging us with intentions never harbored, with expectations never cherished, and as remote from the mind of an abolitionist, as infidelity is from the conscience of piety, as meanness is from generosity, as bigotry is from charity, as truth from falsehood, as freedom from slavery. They would fain make us unfit for this world. We are not judged by evidence drawn from our own declarations or acts, but by acts which our wily adversaries prophecy, we will do or commit at some future period of time; and thus they lift the curtain which shuts from all mortal eyes, except prophets, the great unbounded future; and by looking down the vale of time they behold us engaged in the diabolical and blood thirsty work of procuring laws passed to abolish slavery in the district of Columbia, and the slave territories, and in this way knocking the fetters, from the bondman, which our adversaries call treason, calculated to dissolve the Union.

What Union? I doubt not that you may see some of these union patriots here to-day, who would take your life, and mine, and every member of this Convention, and in so doing, think they had done their master a service, and lift up their hand for eternal and unmitigated slavery to every colored man, woman and child, in the United States, and throw into the same pile all who differed with them in sentiment to promote the interest of their master. *These are the patriotic Unionists*, who secretly wish to dissolve the union, by permitting the great cancer to grow on the neck of the union without attempting its cure or removal. These are the friends of the union who are willing to see two and a half millions of men, women and children, sacrificed to the demon of slavery, according to the written provisions of the Constitution, which these unionists seem to suppose unalterable. These unionists are willing to destroy you and me Mr. Chairman, because we are not terrified at the roaring of the slaveholders; because we feel for two and a half millions of men, women and children, who are now being offered at the shrine of cruelty, lust and avarice. These lovers of the union refuse to hear the loud lamentations of bitter sorrow and hopeless grief; which, like the voice of a mighty flood, ascends day and night from every plantation, every factory, every corn-field, every rice-field, every tobacco-field, every cotton-field, and every kitchen of eleven States; and penetrates the ear of God.

Mr. S. said, the slaves never held a convention on the subject of their wrongs, they never met to petition for a redress of grievances, or to remonstrate against the manifold injuries by which they are broken down. No, his petition was never read within the walls of legislation. Solemn thought. Even to us who for a moment, have become his mouth-piece to tell his wrongs to the world, and demand

redress; we, even we, white skin republicans, appear to be on the eve of losing our rights as white men. from having, from the deepest impulses of humanity, become the slave's organ, to explain to an unfeeling world, the wrongs inflicted upon him. If white men in non-slaveholding States encounter so much noise, violence and injury, in barely pleading the cause of the slave, before those who have no interest in the slave's body, and whose only interest is to cringe and flatter the master of the slave, what must be the condition of the poor slave left to plead his own cause against his own master; that master who is fed sumptuously every day, and clothed in purple and fine linen, by the *unpaid labor of that slave?* When will the glutton, the wine bibber, the adulterous, the avaricious, listen to the voice of the unaided slave?

But, said Mr. S., some say the slaves can be set free some twenty or thirty years hence; ah! will men have less wants, more justice and humanity then than now? No! Again, if it is right to liberate slaves fifty years hence, the right is the same now, for there will be human beings in the world then, who will claim the slaves by a long line of descent, who will have as many wants to supply with slave labor, as men have now. The sun will shine as hot, the rice-lands will be as unhealthy then as now.

Said Mr. S., but we are told by our enemies that they love the slave as well as we do; and then, with the next word, insult and abuse us, for telling the world his wrongs, or attempting any redress.

Mr. S. said, he confessed that this was a new mode of manifesting an equality of love. But perhaps we do not understand our opponents, they may mean that they hate slavery in the abstract, and also hate all means that may be used for its abolition; perhaps they mean they hate slavery in the abstract, but love it in the detail; or perhaps they mean that they hate abstract slavery and mean to destroy abstract slavery by hating all white men in favor of its abolition; perhaps they hate slavery in the abstract, but love the man who causes it,—in detail, so well, that abstract hatred for one purpose, becomes pure love for another.

Said Mr. S, a man might as well say that abstractly, he hated murder, adultery, swearing and stealing, but that he loved the murderer, the adulterer, swearer and thief. Away with such Northern Jesuitism, which is opposed to abstract slavery, but in favor of, and ready to kill any one who wishes to change the present posture of slavery as it practically exists. Oh! shame, hast thou not a new blush for such conscience ruining sophistry? The same ingenuous and wretched distinction has been taken by political metaphysicians, who are willing to barter American liberty to get gold and power, on the subject of free discussion, the summer past. Anti-Abolitionists at the North say they believe in free discussion, in the abstract, and will not allow it to be drawn in question; but this means, as we find it interpreted and translated in the dictionary of daily experience that each man may discuss slavery, or any thing else in the silent chambers of his

own heart, but must not discuss it in public, as it may then provoke a syllogism of feathers, or a deduction of *tar*. An abolitionist may have the abstract right of discussion, but it must be disconnected with time, or place, if a majority of his neighbors differ with him, there is no place *where* or time *when* that he may discuss. This abstract discussion requires an *abstract place*, and *abstract time;* the abstract place must mean the solitude of the wilderness, or loneliness of the ocean; and the abstract time must mean some portions of the *past* or *future*, as it is never the *present*.

The liberty of an abolition press is to be silent, the liberty of conscience for an abolitionist, is to think to himself, or else to think like his slave-loving neighbor, or stop thinking.

The threat of dissolving the Union, is the universal medicine for every political difficulty, at the south. One day, Georgia threatens the dissolution on account of her Indian territory, gold mines, and state jurisdiction, and the missionaries; then, again, the poor Union was to be dissolved by the post-office robbing-South Carolina to vindicate the *beauties* of nullification.

Then, again, this Union was to have been dissolved in 1828, 1830, 1831, and 1832, at four distinct periods, within a short space of time, because the tariff laws were not made to suit certain slave states; but this noble Union held together, we did not hear of a single rafter or brace flinching. In 1835, the Union is to be again dissolved, and charged in account current to abolition.

The joke of it all is, that northern men professed to be frightened to death, every time the negro-driver cried, "*dissolve* the *Union*."—As well might a man who lived in a powder-house, every time he became angry, call for fire-brands. Let southern men dissolve this Union, if they *dare*, *slavery would then* take care of itself, and its masters too, in *one little month*. Both would become extinct. No; oh, deceived northern man, the southern man will be the last to dissolve this Union; by it, he expects to enjoy his slaves; without it, he cannot one day. But the wily politician of the south has discovered the ghost that never fails to frighten the north; and the north has been kept in a political *sweat*, for the last ten or twelve years, for fear the men, who could not exist as slave-holders, without this Union, would dissolve it.

It seems despotism is threatened by the south, unless thirteen free states, disfigure and disgrace their statute books, with bloody laws to protect slavery, forbidding abolitionists to speak, write, or publish any thing against slavery; or petition for its abolition in the District of Columbia, under heavy penalties. The despotism of which laws would so far exceed any in Russia or Turkey, that Nicholas and the grand Signor, would recoil with instinctive abhorrence, from so foul an insult to our common humanity. So it is not enough, that eleven states should bend their backs under the shameful load of slavery, with statute books blushing for the wrongs done, by man to man, which all the waters of the unfathomed deep, could not wash away;

but the tongues of northern men, on the subject of slavery, must cleave to the roofs of their mouths, and the active hand be palsied, in giving the world a history of the negro's woes. My countrymen, ye sons of the Pilgrims, the *tyrant* is at your doors, liberty is bleeding, liberty is dying, slavery has robbed you of the liberty of discussion, of conscience and the press.

Armed mobs are to do the work of the slave-holder, till the legislature obeys his mandate. Then read from your own statute book your doom: you are a slave without his privilege. Had the six hundred delegates, the *freemen* now before me, not met from fear, it would have been worse than in vain that a Warren fell, a Montgomery bled, and a Lawrence expired. You, from this moment, are the representatives of American liberty, if you are driven from this sacred temple, dedicated to God, by an infuriated mob, then, my brethren, wherever you go, liberty will go, where you abide, liberty will abide, when you are speechless, liberty is *dead*.

A constitution was then presented, by the secretary, and read by Mr. Stewart: the question as to its adoption being put, by the chairman, it was adopted, *unanimously*, and the State Anti-Slavery Society was declared to be formed agreeable to said *constitution*.

Mr. Stewart then informed the convention that a declaration of sentiments had been prepared, which he desired might be submitted to the convention. On motion, it was resolved that the declaration of sentiments be read. It was then introduced by the Rev. Amos Savage, of Utica, and read by Lewis Tappan, Esq., of New York. The question was then taken upon its adoption, and it was adopted, *unanimously*.

While Mr. Tappan was reading the declaration of sentiments, a large number of persons, in a disorderly and boisterous manner, crowded into the house, the leaders obtaining an entrance by announcing themselves as a "committee of twenty-five," from a meeting of the citizens of Utica, assembled at the court room. This committee, in connexion with their followers, created so much disturbance as to entirely interrupt the proceedings of the convention. It being apparent that the convention could not proceed any further in their business at this place, a motion was made that the convention adjourn. After a moments consultation among the delegates, the convention resolved to adjourn, *sine die*.

The New York State Anti-Slavery Society having been thus formed, and the convention dissolved, as many as could, by a spontaneous movement, convened in the long room at Clarke's Temperance House, and proceeded to organize a meeting of the society. Dr. Nathaniel Sherrill, of Hampton, Oneida co., was called to the chair, and E. A. Lambert, of New York, appointed secretary. After a full and free interchange of views, as to the best mode of proceedure, Gerrit Smith, Lewis Tappan, Rev. John Frost, Rev. Beriah Green, Samuel Lightbody, Spencer Kellogg and Alvan Stewart,

were chosen a committee to determine the time and place of meeting for business. The committee took the matter into consideration, and Mr. Smith, their chairman, having assured them that they might depend on a hospitable reception at Peterboro', it was, on motion, Resolved, that the society meet at Peterboro' the next day at 8 o'clock A. M.

Information was immediately given to the Delegates, and as many of them as could procure the means of conveyance, (the distance being 27 miles,) forthwith set out for the place of meeting.

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

NEW YORK ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

ADOPTED AT UTICA, OCTOBER 21, 1835.

ARTICLE I. This Society shall be called the New York State Anti Slavery Society.

ART. II. Every meeting of this Society shall commence and conclude with prayer.

ART. III. This Society shall be auxiliary to the American Anti-Slavery Society.

ART. IV. The funds of this society, after defraying its own expenses, shall be paid over to the treasurer of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

ART. V. The officers of this society shall be a President, Vice Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary and a Treasurer.

ART. VI. The President shall preside at all the meetings of this society, or in his absence, one of the Vice Presidents; or in their absence, a President pro tem. The Corresponding Secretary shall conduct the correspondence of the society. The Recording Secretary shall notify all meetings of the society, and of the Executive Committee, and shall keep a record of the same, and it shall also be his duty to register the names of its members. The Treasurer shall

receive subscriptions, make payments at the direction of the Executive Committee, and present a written and audited account to accompany the annual report.

Art. VII. The Society shall, at its first meeting, and always thereafter, at its annual meeting, elect an Executive Committee, to consist of not less than nine, and not more than fifteen; who shall have power to enact their own by-laws, meet upon their own adjournments, fill any vacancy in their body, employ agents, direct the treasurer in the application of all moneys, appoint an auditor or auditors to audit the treasurer's accounts, and call special meetings of the society. They shall make arrangements for all meetings of the society, make an annual written report of their doings, the income, the expenditure and funds of the society; and shall hold stated meetings, and adopt the most energetic measures in their power, to advance the objects of the society. Five of their number shall form a quorum to transact business.

Art. VIII. All the officers of this society mentioned in the 5th article, shall be *ex-officio* members of the Executive Committee.

Art. IX. The annual meeting of this society shall be holden on the third Wednesday in October, in each year, at such place as the Executive Committee shall appoint, of which three weeks notice shall be given in some one or more of the public papers of New York, Albany, Utica, Auburn, Rochester and Buffalo.

Art. X. The object of this society is the entire Abolition of Slavery in the United States. While it admits that each State alone, has, by the Constitution of the United States, the exclusive right to legislate in regard to its abolition in said State, yet its aim shall be, to convince all our fellow citizens, by arguments addressed to their understandings and consciences, that slaveholding is a heinous crime in the sight of God, and that the duty, safety, and best interest of all concerned, require its immediate abandonment.

Art. XI. This society shall aim to elevate the character and condition of the people of color, by encouraging their intellectual, moral and religious improvement, and by correcting the prejudice of public opinion; but this society will never, in any way, countenance the oppressed in vindicating their rights by resorting to physical force.

Art. XII. The members shall use their diligence to collect, from every source within their reach, historical and other evidence respecting the evils of Slavery and the blessings of liberty, and to diffuse the same throughout the community.

Art. XIII. The members shall in every lawful way, endeavor to protect Human Rights, in the Liberty of the Press, Liberty of Speech, and the Liberty of Conscience.

Art. XIV. Any Anti-Slavery Society, or any Association founded on principles embraced in this Constitution, may become auxiliary to this society, and may have a seat in its meetings by delegation, and shall be entitled to deliberate and vote in the transaction of its concerns.

ART. XV. This Constitution may be amended at any annual meeting of the society, by a vote of two-thirds of the members present, provided the amendments proposed have been previously submitted in writing to the Executive Committee.

ART. XVI. At the annual meeting of the society, the treasurer's account shall be presented, the annual report read, appropriate addresses delivered, the officers chosen, and such other business transacted as shall be deemed expedient.

DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS

OF THE STATE ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION AT UTICA.

I. This Convention cordially adopt the principles, and embrace the objects, of the "American Anti-Slavery Society," as set forth in its Constitution.

II. As christians, we believe slave-holding, as it exists in the *United States*, is a violation of the natural rights of man, a sin against God. Because,

1st. It forbids the improvement and cultivation of the mind by education; degrades the immortal soul, and prohibits the reading of the word of God.

2d. It destroys the family relation which God has constituted; by placing persons in a situation that the marriage contract may be broken for no crime, and without their own consent.

3d. It unfits parents for the duty, and deprives them of the privilege, of "training up their children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord."

4th. It robs children of the care and protection of their parents; and takes them out of their hands without the consent of the parent, and subjects them to the will of others.

5th. It reduces men, who were made in the image of God, to a level with beasts; liable to be bought and sold, and compels them to perform involuntary labor, and have no voice in the compensation.

All this we believe is unjust, and a palpable infraction of the command of God, by which we are required to "*love our neighbor as ourself*:" and that it is utterly at war with the principles of equity, which require that "all things whatsoever we would that men should do unto us, even so should we do unto them."

III. As patriots, we believe that slavery is repugnant to our republican institutions, and a gross violation of the principles avowed in the *Declaration of American Independence*.

IV. As philanthropists, we believe that the condition of the enslaved in the United States, demands the sympathy and the commiseration of all the friends of man.

V. We believe, that it is the duty of the slave-holder in common with every other person to do *right*, and deal *justly*: to treat his fellow man as *men*; to restore to the enslaved what has been wrested from them, and for no crime; to renounce in them the right of property; to place them under the protection and control of just and equal laws, by which they enjoy domestic and civil liberty, and the privilege of mental and moral cultivation: and have the right of doing their duties to their families, to their fellow men and to God.

VI. We believe, that it is *always* safe to obey God, and deal justly with men; and "that the immediate abolition of slavery, by those who have the right to abolish it, would be both safe and wise;" and that a contrary course will endanger our civil institutions, and provoke upon this nation the just judgments of Heaven.

VII. We believe, that free enquiry and discussion is the corner stone of liberty; and the safeguard of truth, and is dreaded only by tyrants and the wicked: and that it is the RIGHT of American citizens to discuss the subject of slavery as well as any other subject; and to express their opinions freely, and fully: privately, and openly; by correspondence and by the press: and that any attempt to control or deter this freedom, by public meetings; by resolutions; by threats; by protests; or by preventing the circulation of papers through the mail, is an assumption of illegal power, and an infringement on *rights* given us, by God, and guaranteed to us by the constitution of the United States, and of the individual states.

VIII. We believe, that it is our duty, in the spirit of love and kindness, to do all we can in a constitutional way, by sound argument and clear exhibitions of truth, to convince our fellow citizens of the correctness of our sentiments, and persuade them to act on those principles.

IX. We believe, that every patriot ought to desire, and use his influence to remove as speedily as possible from our country, this moral and political evil.

X. We believe that every philanthropist ought to labor, and every Christian ought to pray for the speedy and peaceful abolition of slavery throughout the world.

These, fellow-citizens, are our sentiments. Are they unworthy of Americans, of *men*, of Christians? Are they unreasonable, terrific, or sanguinary? Is there any thing calculated to excite insurrection, and produce evil? And that our principles may be understood, and no longer be misrepresented to the public, we invite the attention of our fellow citizens to the Constitution of our Society, and to the published documents of Anti-Slavery Societies. Our principles will not shrink from investigation, or suffer from the light of truth. And if we have done any thing worthy of condemnation or death, we only ask the birth-right privilege of American citizens; a fair trial before

an impartial and legally constituted tribunal of our country, and we refuse not to die.

But the right of discussion privately and publicly, we shall never relinquish. "It is a home-bred right, a fireside privilege. It is as undoubted as the right of breathing the air or walking the earth. Aiming at all times to be cautious and temperate in its use. This high constitutional privilege we shall assert, and exercise in all places, and at all times. Living we shall assert it, dying we shall assert it; and should we leave no other inheritance to our children, by the blessing of God we will leave the inheritance of free principles, and the example of a manly, independent, and constitutional defence of them."

PROCEEDINGS OF THE

NEW YORK ANTI-SLAVERY STATE SOCIETY,

PETERBORO', OCT. 22, 1835.

The New York State Anti-Slavery Society, held its first meeting at Peterboro', Madison County, Thursday, 8 o'clock A. M., October 22, 1835. At least three hundred gentlemen who had been members of the Utica Convention, appeared at Peterboro'.

On motion,

Dr. ARBA BLAIR, of Rome, County of Oneida, was elected President pro tem.: J. F. Robinson, of New York, W. W. Reid, of Rochester, William Yates, of Troy, and O. N. Bush, of Rochester, were appointed Secretaries.

The meeting being thus organized, the Throne of Grace was addressed by Rev. Henry Snyder, of Chenango County.

On motion, it was

Resolved, That the Constitution of the Society adopted at Utica, be read. Thereupon it was read.

On motion, it was

Resolved, That a committee consisting of one from each Senate district, be appointed to recommend suitable persons for officers of the society. The following were appointed, viz:

Joshua Leavitt,	1st District.	Rev. Oliver Wetmore,	5th District,
Samuel Thompson,	2nd "	Waters Warren,	6th "
William Yates,	3d "	Darlin Thompson,	7th "
Dr. Hiram Corliss,	4th "	Dr. W. W. Reid,	8th "

On motion,

Resolved, That a committee of two be appointed to take up the names of the delegates. J. H. Martin, of Greenbush, and Harvey Blodget, of Westmoreland, were named as such committee.

On motion,

Resolved, That a retiring committee of eight be appointed to draft resolutions expressive of the sense of this society. Rev. Beriah Green, Rev. Amos Phelps, William Green, jr. Henry Phœnix, Elizur Wright, jr. Rev. Carlos Smith, George A. Avery, and Rev. Nathaniel Colver, were appointed said committee.

The committee retired and the names of the delegates were then taken up.

The committee to recommend officers for the society reported the following:

For President,

Hon. WILLIAM JAY, of Bedford, Westchester county.

For Vice Presidents,

GEORGE MILLER, Esq. Suffolk county,
DAVID LEAVITT, Esq. Kings county,
WILLIAM GREEN, Jr. New York county,
JOHN OWEN, Esq. Westchester county,
DAVID B. LENT, Dutchess county,
PETER ROE, Orange county,
TOWNSEND HADDOCK, Ulster county,
JOSHUA LORD, Esq. Columbia county,
Rev. N. S. S. BEMAN, Renselaer county,
Rev. THOMAS POWELL, Saratoga county,
Dr. HIRAM CORLISS, Washington do.
SAMUEL KEYES, Essex county,
OLIVER WESCOTT, Franklin county,
Gen. JOSEPH A. NORTHRUP, Lewis county,
SAMUEL LIGHTBODY, Oneida county,
Rev. GEORGE S. BOARDMAN, Jefferson county,
RUFUS S. PETERS, Esq. Otsego county,
ISAAC PLATT, Delaware county,
Rev. HENRY SNYDER, Chenango county,
Rev. MARCUS HARRISON, Tompkins county,
Rev. CARLOS SMITH, Onondaga county,
Rev. D. C. LANSING, Cayuga county,
EDWARD S. TOWNSEND, Wayne county,
Hon. JOHN DICKSON, Ontario county,
Rev. GEORGE RUDD, Steuben do.
Hon. HENRY BREWSTER, Monroe county,
HENRY PHŒNIX, Genesee county,
Col. REUBEN SLEEPER, Livingston county,
Rev. THOMPSON S. HARRIS, Chatauque county,
Hon. ISAAC PHELPS, Erie county,
L. A. SPALDING, Niagara county.

Corresponding Secretary,
Rev. BERIAH GREEN, Whitesboro', Oneida county,
Recording Secretary,
Rev. OLIVER WETMORE, Utica, Oneida county,
Treasurer,
SPENCER KELLOGG, Utica, Oneida county,
Executive Committee,
ALVAN STEWART, Esq. of Utica, chairman,
REV. AMOS SAVAGE, do
Dr. WELCOME A. CLARK, Whitesboro,
Dr. ARBA BLAIR, Rome,
JOSEPH T. LYMAN, Esq. Utica,
FRANCIS WRIGHT, do
JAMES C. DELONG, do
JACOB SNYDER, do
Rev. LEWIS H. LOSS, York Mills.

On motion,

Resolved, That the report of the committee be accepted and adopted.

The President elect not being present the Hon. Henry Brewster took the chair as Vice President.

On motion, it was

Resolved, That the Executive Committee have power to fill all vacancies that may occur in the officers of the society.

On motion, it was

Resolved, That the Rev. George Storrs of Concord, N. H., Seth Strong, Esq. Moses Breck, of Northampton, Hart Leavit, of Heath, and Col. Roger H. Leavitt, of Charlemont, Mass., be invited to take seats in this meeting.

On motion,

Resolved, That Gerrit Smith, Esq. be invited to a seat, and to take part in the deliberations and proceedings of this meeting.

On motion,

Resolved, That Charles Stuart, long known as a tried friend of abolition, be invited to a seat as a member of this meeting.

On motion,

Resolved, That the citizens of Peterboro' agreeing with this society in sentiment, be invited to take seats in this meeting.

On motion, it was

Resolved, That the Declaration of Sentiments adopted by the Convention at Utica be read. The reading of the Declaration of Sentiments took place.

The committee on resolutions announced that they were ready to make their report.

The society took a recess till half past 2 o'clock P. M.

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2 o'clock P. M.

The society convened and the committee reported the following

RESOLUTIONS.

1. *Resolved*, That the slaves in these United States, as men, are justly entitled to the rights and privileges claimed for all, by the Declaration of American Independence.

2. *Resolved*, That holding men in slavery, being contrary to the law written on the human heart, as well as in the holy scriptures is a SIN AGAINST GOD.

3. *Resolved*, That the right of free discussion, given to us by our God, and asserted and guarded by the laws of our country, is a right so vital to man's freedom and dignity and usefulness, that we can never be guilty of its surrender, without consenting to exchange that freedom for slavery, and that dignity and usefulness for debasement and worthlessness.

4. *Resolved*, That principles, opinions, institutions and usages, which cannot bear thorough examination and inquiry, are unworthy of Americans, and ought to be abandoned.

5. *Resolved*, That the time has come to settle the great question, whether the north shall give up its liberty to preserve slavery to the south, or the south shall give up its slavery to preserve liberty to the whole nation.

6. *Resolved*, That recent events have fully proved the power of free discussion to destroy slavery.

7. *Resolved*, That for the appropriate and powerful confirmation recently given to the doctrines of the American Anti-Slavery Society, in the history of West India emancipation, we render fervent thanks to the God of the oppressed.

8. *Resolved*, That facts show, that immediate and universal emancipation is the most safe as well as the only just remedy for slavery, and that all schemes of gradual and partial emancipation are unjust in principle and dangerous in practice.

9. *Resolved*, That all attempts to justify slavery from the Bible, are a perversion of its principles and precepts, and eminently fitted to destroy confidence in its divine authority and truth.

10. *Resolved*, That withholding the Bible from the slave, involves a direct violation of God's command, "Search the scriptures."

11. *Resolved*, That we view the education of the people of color as a most important means of bringing about the abolition of slavery and the removal of that prejudice against color which is at once the fruit and support of the system; and that on this account, we view with high approbation the conduct of those individuals and institutions that have labored to extend to them the same information, in arts, literature and science, which are enjoyed by the whites.

12. *Resolved*, That Christians, by virtue of the commission, "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature," are citizens of the world, and as such authorized to go to the ends of the earth to bear testimony against all sin, and call on all men to repent of and forsake it—and therefore that for American Christians to stigmatize philanthropists, who come from England to plead for the

oppressed, as "foreigners," "foreign emmissaries," "aliens," &c., or to countenance others in doing it is a practical denial of our Lord's commission, and a direct condemnation of all missionary enterprises.

13. *Resolved*, That to such of our fellow Christians as have recently been subjected at the south to cruel outrage, under the name of punishment, without trial by jury, or even pretence of law, we extend our full and hearty sympathy.

14. *Resolved*, That we regard the course of those editors, who have nobly dared to vindicate the right, and plead the cause of the oppressed, with warm approbation, lively joy, and high hope.

15. *Resolved*, That those men of high pretensions and elevated stations, who have recently placed themselves at the head of blind and lawless mobs, to wrest away the plainest and dearest rights of their fellow citizens, are entitled to our pity and our prayers.

16. *Resolved*, That we deem it the duty of parents to instil into the minds of their children a deep abhorrence of slavery; and that we cordially invite the co-operation of the young in our efforts for its removal.

17. *Resolved*, That this society earnestly invites the co-operation of ladies throughout the state, by the formation of Ladies' Anti-Slavery Societies, wherever it can be done, to act in concert with this society in the great work of emancipation.

18. *Resolved*, That slavery and the slave-trade, in the District of Columbia, being within the "exclusive jurisdiction" of Congress, involve the entire nation in the guilt of slavery; and that it is the duty of the citizens of this state to use vigorous and unceasing exertions, through their representatives in Congress, to procure their immediate abolition.

19. *Resolved*, That we recommend a general observance of the Monthly Concert of Prayer, on the LAST MONDAY EVENING of every month, for the abolition of slavery throughout the world.

20. *Resolved*, That this society approve the resolution of the American Anti-Slavery Society, to raise *thirty thousand dollars* the present year for the society, and is ready to pledge itself to sustain them in the effort.

21. *Resolved*, That slips of paper be now circulated, and pledges and contributions taken up for the funds of this society, and that the sums pledged be considered payable by the first of January next.

22. *Resolved*, That the Executive Committee of this society be instructed to prepare and publish, with the proceedings of this meeting, two addresses—one to abolitionists, and the other to the public generally, on their obligations and duties at the present crisis.

23. *Resolved*, That the thanks of this society be given to the Common Council of the city of Utica, for the permission given that the Convention, for the formation of the society, might be held in the Court room in that city.

24. *Resolved*, That the thanks of this society be given to the Trustees of the 2d Presbyterian Church in Utica, for the use of that

church for the meeting of the New York Anti-Slavery Convention

25. *Resolved*, That the members of this society return their hearty thanks to the citizens of Peterboro', for the use of their church on the present occasion, and for the kindness and hospitality with which they have been received and entertained.

On motion,

Resolved, That the resolutions just read be adopted. They were adopted, unanimously.

After the 21st resolution was passed, subscriptions and contributions were taken up for the treasury of the State Society, amounting to upwards of $1100. This was swelled the next morning, by a pledge of $100 from a young man who is employed in a neighboring county at a salary of $300 a year, and several others indicating a similar zeal.

The business of the meeting having been thus happily completed, with perfect harmony within, and perfect tranquility without, the society adjourned, and the assembly united in an appropriate prayer and thanksgiving, offered by Rev. Beriah Green.

SPEECH OF MR. GERRIT SMITH.

After the reading of the third resolution, Gerrit Smith, Esq. rose and remarked, that he was not a member of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and not yet prepared to become such—that his reasons for not approving of all the plans and proceedings of the society, so far as to unite himself with it, were before the public; and that it would be both unseasonable and egotistical for him now to mention them. He stood up in the meeting under the courtesy of its resolution, inviting him to take a part in its deliberations and proceedings. Let me say, however, (said Mr. Smith,) that the great principles of your society have ever been my principles; and, that it is meet that I should share with you in the odium and peril of holding those principles. At such a time as this, when you are nobly jeoparding, for truth's sake, and humanity's sake, property and reputation and life, I feel it to be not only my duty, but my privilege and pleasure, to identify myself with you, as far as I conscientiously can, and to expose my property and reputation and life to the same dangers, which threaten yours. Passing events, (said Mr. S.) admonish me of the necessity there is, that the friends of human rights should act in concert: and, with all my objections to your society, it is not only possible, but probable, that I shall soon find myself obliged to become a member of it.

But to come to the resolution before us, (which Mr. S. said he had himself drawn up, and handed to the committee on resolutions,) I love the free and happy form of civil government under which I live: not because it confers new rights on me. My rights all spring from an infinitely nobler source—from the favor and grace of God. Our political and constitutional rights, so called, are but the natural and inherent rights, of man, asserted, carried out, and secured by modes of human contrivance. To no human charter am I indebted for my rights. They pertain to my original constitution: and I read them in that Book of books, which is the great Charter of man's rights. No, the constitutions of my nation and state create none of my rights. They do, at the most, but recognize what is not theirs to give.

My reason therefore, for loving a republican form of government, and for preferring it to any other—to monarchial and despotic governments—is, not that it clothes me with rights, which these withhold from me; but, that it makes fewer encroachments than they do, on the rights, which God gave me—on the divinely appointed scope of man's agency. I prefer, in a word, the republican system, because it comes up more nearly to God's system. It is not then to the constitutions of my nation and state, that I am indebted for the right of free discussion; though I am thankful for the glorious defence with which those instruments surround that right. No, God himself gave me this right; and a sufficient proof that He did so, is to be found in the fact, that He requires me to exercise it. Take from the men, who compose the church of Christ on earth, the right of free discussion, and you disable them for His service. They are now the lame and the dumb and the blind. In vain is it now, that you bid them "hold forth the word of life"—in vain that you bid them "not to suffer sin upon a neighbor, but in any wise rebuke him"—in vain is it, that you bid them "go into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature." If God made me to be one of his instruments for carrying forward the salvation of the world, then is the right of free discussion among my inherent rights; then may I, must I, speak of sin, any sin, every sin, that comes in my way—any sin, every sin, which it is my duty to search out and to assail. When, therefore, this right is called in question, then is the invasion, not of something obtained from human convention and human concession; but the invasion of a birthright—of that which is as old as our being, and a part of the original man.

This right, so sacred, is sought to be trammelled. It is virtually denied. What I have said is introductory to the expression of my dissent from the tenor of the language, with which this invasion is generally met. This right is, for the most part, defended on the ground, that it is given to us by our political constitutions; and that it was purchased for us by the blood and toil of our fathers. Now, I wish to see its defence placed on its true and infinitely higher ground; on the ground, that God gave it to us; and that he who violates or betrays it, is guilty, not alone of dishonoring the laws of his country

and the blood and toil and memory of his fathers: but, that he is guilty also of making war upon God's plan of man's constitution and endowment; and of attempting to narrow down and destroy that dignity, with which God invested him, when He made him in his own image, and but "little lower than the angels." When, therefore, we would defend this right, let us not defend it so much with the jealousy of an American—a Republican; as though it were but an American or a Republican right, and could claim no higher origin than human will and human statutes; but let us defend it as men, feeling that to lose it, is to lose a part of ourselves; let us defend it as men, determined to maintain, even to their extreme boundary, the rights and powers, which God has given to us for our usefulness and enjoyment; and the surrender of an iota of which is treason against Heaven.

There is one class of men, whom it especially behoves to be tenacious of the right of free discussion. I mean the poor. The rich and the honorable, if divested of this right, have still their wealth and their honors to repose on, and to solace them. But, when the poor are stripped of this right, they are poor indeed. The unhappy men, who composed the mob in Utica yesterday, are of this class. May they yet learn, and before it is too late, how suicidal was the violence, TO WHICH THE LIPS AND PENS OF THEIR SUPERIORS STIMULATED THEM: and, that, in attacking this most precious right in your persons, they were most efficiently contributing to hasten its destruction in their own; a right too in respect to which the poor man is the equal of the richest and the proudest; and his possession of which is all, that saves him from being trampled upon in Republican America by the despotism of wealth and titles, as that despotism tramples upon him elsewhere, where he is not permitted to tell the story of his wrongs, and to resist oppression by that power, which even wealth and titles cannot withstand—*the power of the lips and the Press.* Let the poor man count as his enemy, and his worst enemy, every invader of the right of free discussion.

We are threatened with legislative restraints on this right. Let us tell our legislators in advance, that this is a right, restraints on which, we will not, cannot bear; and that every attempt to restrain it is a palpable wrong on God and man. Submitting to these restraints, we could not be what God made us to be; we could not perform the service, to which He has appointed us; we could not be *men*. Laws to gag a man—to congeal the gushing fountains of his heart's sympathy—and to shrivel up his soul by extinguishing its ardor and generosity—are laws not to assist him in carrying out God's high and holy purposes in calling him into being; but they are laws to throw him a passive, mindless, worthless being at the feet of despotism.

And to what end is it that we are called on to hold our tongues, and throw down our pens, and give up our influence! Were it for a good object, and could we conceive that such a sacrifice would promote it, there would be a color of fitness in asking us to do so. But, this is a sacrifice, which righteousness and humanity never invoke.

Truth and mercy require the *exertion*—never the *suppression*, of man's noble rights and powers. We are called on to degrade and unman ourselves, and to withhold from others that influence, which we are bound to exert upon them, to the end that the victim of oppression may lie more quietly beneath the foot of his oppressor; to the end, that one sixth of our countrymen, plundered of their dearest rights —of their bodies, and minds, and souls—may never know of those rights; to the end, that TWO MILLIONS AND A HALF of our fellow men, crushed in the iron folds of slavery, may remain in all their suffering and debasement and despair. It is for such an object —an object so wicked and inexpressibly mean—that we are called on to lie down beneath the slaveholders' blustering and menace, like whipped and trembling spaniels. We reply, that our Republican spirit cannot thus succumb; and, what is infinitely more, that God did not make us—that Jesus did not redeem us, for such sinful and vile uses.

We knew before, that slavery could not endure, could not survive free discussion: that the minds of men could not remain firm and their consciences quiet under the continued appeals of truth, and justice, and mercy: but the demand, which slaveholders now make on us to surrender the right of free discussion, together with their avowed reasons for this demand, involves their own full concession, that free discussion is incompatible with slavery. The South now admits by her own showing, that slavery cannot live, unless the North be tongue-tied. But we have two objections to being thus tongue-tied. One is, that we desire and purpose to exert all our powers and influence—lawfully, temperately, kindly—to persuade the slaveholders of the south to deliver our colored brethren from their bonds; nor shall we give rest to our lips or pens, until this righteous object is accomplished: and the other is, that we are not willing to be slaves ourselves. The enormous and insolent demands of the South, sustained, I am deeply ashamed to say, by craven and mercenary spirits at the North, manifest, beyond all dispute, that the question now is, not merely, nor mainly, whether the blacks at the south shall remain slaves—but whether the whites at the North shall become slaves also. And thus, whilst we are endeavoring to break the yokes, which are on other's necks, we are to see to it, that yokes are not imposed on our own.

Is it said that the South will not molest our freedom, if we will not disturb their slavery—if we will not insist on the liberty to speak and write about this abomination? Our reply is, that God gave us the freedom for which we contend—that it is not a freedom bestowed by man;—not an *ex gratia* freedom, which we have received at the hands of the South:—not a freedom, which stands, on the one hand, in the surrender of our dearest rights, and, on the other, in the conceded perpetuity of the body and mind and soul-crushing system of American slavery. We ask not, we accept not, we scornfully reject, the conditional and worthless freedom, which the South proffers us.

It is not to be disguised, that a war has broken out between the North and the South. Political and commercial men are industriously striving to restore peace: but the peace which they would effect, is superficial, false, and temporary. True, permanent peace can never be restored, until slavery, the occasion of the war, has ceased. The sword, which is now drawn, will never be returned to its scabbard, until victory, entire, decisive victory is ours or theirs; not, until that broad and deep and damning stain on our country's escutcheon is clean washed out—that plague spot on our country's honor gone forever; or, until slavery has riveted anew her present chains, and brought our heads also to bow beneath her withering power. It is idle—it is criminal, to hope for the restoration of peace, on any other condition. Why, not to speak of other outrages, which the South has practised on the rights and persons of Northern men, who can read the simple and honest account which Amos Dresser gives of his sufferings at the hands of slaveholders, and still flatter himself with the belief, that the North can again shake hands with slavery? If the church members and church elders, who sat in mock judgment on that young man's case could be impelled by the infernal spirit of slavery to such lawless, ruffian violence; how can any reasonable hope remain, that, whilst the south remains under the malign influences of slavery, its general demeanor towards the North can be even tolerable? The head and front of Dresser's offending, was his connexion with an Anti-Slavery Society in a distant state; and for this he was subjected by professors, and titled professors too, of the meek and peaceful religion of Jesus, to corporal punishment—public, disgraceful, severe.

Who shall be mustered on our side for this great battle? Not the many. The many never come to such a side as ours, until attracted to it by palpable and unequivocal signs of its triumph. Nor do we need the many. A chosen few are all we need. Nor, do we desire those, who are skilful in the use of carnal weapons. For such weapons we have no use. Truth and love are inscribed on our banners, and "by these we conquer." There is no room in our ranks for the politician, who, to secure the votes of the South, would consent that American slavery be perpetual. There is no room in them for the commercial man, who, to secure the trade of the South, is ready to applaud the institution of slavery, and to leave his countrymen—his brethren—their children, and children's children—subjected to its tender mercies, throughout all future time. We have no room, no work for such. We want men, who stand on the rock of christian principles; men who will speak, and write, and act with invincible honesty and firmness; men, who will vindicate the right of discussion, knowing that it is derived from God; and who, knowing this, will vindicate it against all the threats and arts of demagogues, and money worshippers, and in the face of mobs, and of death. There is room in our ranks for the old and decrepit, as well as the young and vigorous. The hands that are tremulous with years, are the best

hands to grasp the sword of the spirit. The aged servants of God best know how "to move the arm which moves the world." Our work, in a word, is the work of God; and they are the best suited to it, who are most accustomed to do his work.

TO THE CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES:

Fellow Citizens—

Our country justly glories in what she has done for the liberties of the world. From the solemn hour in which she took her rank among the nations of the earth, she has shown, by her domestic peace and by an unexampled progress in wealth, arts and intelligence, that the government of a people by their own laws, is the best of all governments. She has shown that the true policy of a nation is in opening the fountains of knowledge to all, and acknowledging no nobility but that of noble deeds. Her constitutional and hitherto cherished freedom of speech and of the press, has brought the hoarded wisdom of ages home to the poor as well as to the rich. Her christianity has sent its healing balm to the perishing of the most distant lands, and her example has been the day-star of hope to oppressed millions. But however high her claims to our love and admiration, our country is far from faultless.

Within the United States are two million and two hundred and fifty thousand slaves. Of these some were dragged away from Africa by the hand of the kidnapper; and by far the greater part, were stolen in this country from their mother's bosoms. All, men, women and children, were reduced to their present condition by a system of fraud and violence. Under this system, made up of usages and laws, and maintained by public sentiment, they have nothing but their chains, which they can call their own. They are placed under the control of others. This control has scarcely a limit, check, or restraint. They may be stung with insults, goaded with whips, crushed with burdens. They may be starved, polluted, slaughtered with impunity. The system under which they are placed, forbids them to claim as their own, the reason, conscience, and heart which belong to their nature. They have no right to study and obey the commands of their Creator and their Judge. They are mere property—good for nothing else than to gratify the passion and subserve the interest of any owner who may chance to hold them. *Such is the system of American Slavery.*

The *fruits* of this system are well worthy of its obvious tendencies. On the one side, it has produced tyranny of the worst stamp, eager, loud and exorbitant in its demands, inexorable and determined

in its exactions, on the other, the most unquestioning and crouching servility. On the one side, we have open-jawed, insatiable cupidity; on the other, the exhaustion of unmitigated toil; the emaciation of unsatisfied hunger; the scars of the merciless lash. On the one side, we have cherished passion and pampered lust; blind, headlong, and spurning all control, impatient of the least restraint; on the other, the forced submission of loathing, helpless virtue, or the ready compliance of thoughtless, practiced vice. On every side and at all times, we are surrounded with the ruins of benighted reason, benumbed conscience, and stony hearts. We see on every hand, implacable malignity, envenomed spite, and murderous hate. Passions we see of monstrous growth and gigantic power—bosoms fretted with anxiety, racked with suspicion, rent with fear—the big tear, the deep groan, the fresh blood. *Such are the fruits which slavery every day and in a thousand places is producing.*

We do not reproach the people of the South as exclusively *originating* this bondage. For its origin the people of the North are perhaps *equally*, certainly to a great extent, responsible. And we think that its continuance depends more upon Northern prejudice, avarice, and sophistry than upon Southern pride and luxury. *The guilt of this fearful iniquity rests upon the whole Republic.* Multitudes of our Northern youth yearly rush to the South to buy and sell and get gain by the possession of slaves. Even ministers of religion go from us, first to tolerate, then to excuse, then to participate in the crime. In no less numbers do Southern slaveholders flock to the North, here to be courted, flattered and upheld in their hereditary oppression. It is trifling with the most sacred feeling, and the most solemn responsibilities to tell us that we are not interested in the question of slavery.

On a system charged with such tendencies, and yielding such fruits, can we look with heartless indifference? *We are men.* We reverence and honor human nature. We see impressed upon it the stamp of divinity and immortality. In every man we own a kinsman. The bond of brotherhood is strong. Can we see the image of our Creator in his handy work rudely treated and recklessly defaced, without disgust and horror. Can we see our unoffending brethren kneeling in chains at our feet without feeling every fraternal sympathy aroused? In slavery, we see *our very nature* stormed, beat down, and dragged away in fetters. *We ourselves are thus trodden in the mire.* And can we see our nature crushed under iron hoofs without feeling our degradation and our danger? Must we be deaf to the voices which like repeated claps of thunder break upon our ears, urging us to rouse up and bestir ourselves: to summon all our powers to the fearful strife which puts our all in jeopardy?

We are christians. Can we see the objects of our Savior's deep pity and tender love—of his exhausting labors and agonizing sufferings, spurned as vile, and thrown away as worthless, without emotion? Is it nothing to us, that our brothers and sisters in the family

of Christ are herded with swine—exposed to more killing injuries than their brute companions are capable of suffering? Are we to see professed christians with their religious teachers "offending" even to trampling in the dust "the little ones" of Christ without entreaty, remonstrance, or rebuke? Are we to see the holy Bible, the great charter of human freedom perverted by violence the most torturing and sophistry the most deceptive, into the text-book of slavery without an effort to rescue it from the profane hands, which are tossing its sacred leaves to the winds? Are we thus to see the very foundations of the christian temple broken up without directing a thought or an effort to its preservation?

We are Americans. Can we contemplate arrangements and usages, widely current, and strenuously maintained, which are subversive of the first principles, on which our free institutions are founded without indignation and alarm? Shall we look tamely on, and see petty tyrants in pride and pomp, stalk haughtily along into the very sanctuary of the temple of freedom, with a long train of cringing, broken-hearted vassals—there to mount their thrones and wield their sceptres; aye, and with an assurance which would make brass blush, insolently call upon American freemen to reverence and defend their regal honors? And are we to be told that we are in duty bound to offer up our fortunes, our sacred honor, our very lives a sacrifice to their majesty? And shall such claims be impudently urged upon us in the most provoking forms, and our blood flow evenly along without a quickening impulse from the heart? Have we sold our birthright for a mess of pottage: and are we hence forward to be faithful, uncomplaining slaves? Perish the thought!

In what light then, are we to view the relations established and maintained by the American system of slavery? As most *unnatural* clearly. The elements of freedom are wrought into the constitution of every human being. His endowments indicate the will of his Creator. With reason, conscience, will, he was evidently made to act as a free-agent. While in seeking his own happiness, he respects the rights of others, it is the stern demand of nature's God, that he should be let alone—left unmolested to pursue such objects as may best subserve his interests. The whole system of American slavery arises from a bold and stout resistance of this demand. It is a flagrant violation of the laws under which human nature is placed. Of the authoritative exposition of these laws, which their Author has given in the Bible, slavery is a most wanton and presumptuous transgression. Its tendencies, and influences, and effects, are obviously and glaringly adverse to the two great christian precepts in which all moral laws are comprehended and embodied. The spirit of this system like a destroying angel, transforms the neighbors whom we are to love as ourselves into a herd of cattle, whom we may caress or kill, as best suits our sovereign pleasure. Every relation defined in the law of God, slavery disturbs and deranges. Every obligation enforced by the law, slavery breaks asunder and tramples in the dust.

As a system, it is directly subversive of the fundamental principles of the divine government. It is a system of rebellion against heaven. *Every act of conformity to such a system* MUST BE SIN. As sin, we abhor and denounce it. This conclusion is in the strictest accordance with the doctrines, on which the American Revolution proceeded. The natural equality of mankind was with the heroes of 1776, a fundamental truth; most heartily received, most confidently asserted most strenuously maintained. In the clear and certain light, which this truth sheds around us, we cannot for a moment refuse to see, or hesitate to declare that slaveholding is a sin.

Be it distinctly understood what we plainly affirm, that in denouncing and opposing slavery as a prime object of attention and of interest, we keep our eyes fixed on *the relation itself*, which slavery establishes. The kindness or the cruelty of those who maintain this relation, is in our view, a matter of very small importance. *The relation itself of master and slave*, however modified, has our unmingled abhorrence. We do not deny, that accidental circumstances may in particular cases greatly mitigate the evils naturally belonging to this relation. The withering tendencies of despotism, the most absolute and irresponsible have sometimes been accidentally counteracted. But accident cannot neutralize natural tendency. The one is inherent and permanent. The other only occasional and transitory. Of the relation, which slavery establishes, whether we regard its certain tendencies or actual effects, we deeply feel and plainly declare our solemn, settled, full conviction, *that it ought instantly, universally, and forever to be broken up.*

In asserting and maintaining the doctrine of immediate emancipation, we make a broad distinction between *our convictions of what* OUGHT, *and our expectations of what* WILL, be done. These two things, we cannot confound with each other. To bring men gradually, and one by one, to yield to the claims of rectitude, their obligations immediately and universally to submit to these demands must be urged upon them. The doctrine of gradual repentance is false in theory, mischievous in tendency, and disastrous in its results. Such a doctrine, applied to slaveholding, would leave that monstrous sin to scatter, far and wide, firebrands, arrows, and death, unrebuked and unchecked, forever!

When we demand, for the slaves, immediate and universal emancipation, we declare, that we are heartily and decisively opposed to their being *turned "loose" upon the world.* Long enough have they been treated like brute beasts. They are neither snakes nor tigers. THEY ARE MEN. As men, they can understand the meaning, fulfill the obligations, and enjoy the protection of good and useful laws. To such laws, they are fully and fairly entitled. That they may be delivered from the despotism of unrestrained passion, and placed under the protection and restraint of healthful legislation, is the earnest plea, we make, in their behalf.

This arrangement ought immediately to take place. It is demanded by the government of God, which is administered with the strictest, sternest adherence to perfect rectitude. It is demanded by human nature, which yearns with maternal tenderness over her suffering children, and will not be comforted till they are restored to the light and life of holy freedom. It is demanded by the spirit of the Gospel, whose eye runneth down with tears, while fixed upon the deadly scars with which oppression lacerates the bosom of the Savior. It is demanded by the welfare of the oppressor, who is busily engaged in building an altar where he may offer up himself a sacrifice to mammon. It is demanded by the intolerable wrongs under which the slave is crushed. Heaven and earth, all nature, above, around, within us, join in the demand, that to holy freedom should be given immediate and universal prevalence.

To affect an arrangement of such a renovating and redeeming influence, we feel sacredly bound to contirbute what we can consistently with our various obligations. We cannot fight. We have neither the spirit nor the munitions of war. Legislate we cannot. The lawmaking power is not ours to wield. Those, however, to whom this power is intrusted, are placed within our reach. In our various intercourse with them we are at liberty to try what *moral suasion* may effect. To those especially to whom the control of the District of Columbia is committed, we have free access. To them we may present our views and feelings in the form of argument, petition and remonstrance, and they are bound to listen to our words, even if they do not accede to our requests. We do not choose to forget, that we have our share in forming *public sentiment*—the supreme authority in this republic, to which all other powers must bow. *To this slavery owes its origin and continuance.* The power which created can destroy. On how small a scale must slavery at first have been attempted. A wretch or two by fraud and violence, reduced a fellow creature to subservency to their will. By appealing to the worst passions of those around them, they were permitted to maintain their usurped authority. A partnership in robbery was formed. New victims were seized. The bonds of wickedness were strengthened. Power and cunning were combined to arrange and perfect a system of oppression. At length, as the finishing stroke of the foulest policy which ever outraged heaven and disgraced the earth, the solemnity and authority of law were employed to protect and uphold an extensive and complicated scheme of theft, adultery and murder. THIS IS THE SCHEME OF AMERICAN SLAVERY. Kidnappers, and man-stealers. and slaveholders, furnish a lesson of instruction which we are ready to reduce to practice. Our utmost we will do to draw others into this sacred sympathy with ourselves. We will combine our strength. The circle of our influence we will labor continually to enlarge. We will exert ourselves to direct public sentiment into a new channel. We will not give sleep to our eyes till we see such usages, arrangements and laws, introduced as are in the highest degree friendly to Holy Free-

dom. And we dare hope for success. *In opposition to the government of God slavery has been introduced, in accordance with the government of God slavery shall be destroyed.*

If any who deplore the evils of slavery are faint-hearted, and despair of success, we ask them not to join us. The struggle, no doubt is arduous, it may cost life, but the victory is sure. We are not rushing to an untried experiment. Half a century ago, the African slave trade was a prime branch of commerce of every civilized nation, engulphing capital and enterprize, and making large masses of men tributary to its support, and dependent upon its unhallowed gains. It had fortified itself in law and sophistry, and had even stolen indulgence from the word of God. From this source proud cities drew their wealth. Yet this great branch of the evil was attacked. The assailants were at first few and despised. Year after year they toiled against hope, suffered unmeasured abuse, and were accounted pestilent disturbers of the public peace. Now who, even of our revilers, dares to avow himself the advocate of the African slave trade. In Britain the spirit that triumphed over the slave trade, aroused by the ever growing evils of slavery, has proclaimed freedom to her 800,000 slaves. Her glorious example, while it rebukes our sloth, confirms our doctrines. The victory was achieved, not by the power of the imperial parliament, but by the moral sentiment of the people. Even on this side of the Atlantic our doctrines are not novel. Long ago their power was felt. The immortal names of Franklin, Rush and Jay, will in coming time derive their chief lustre from their opposition to slavery. With regard to many others now not less illustrious, posterity will regret only that their practice did not conform to their glorious principles. Ours are doctrines avowed by the best patriots, ever since the revolution. The only reason why others in the same struggle have not succeeded before us, is, that in carrying their principles into organized action, they allowed them to be modified to avoid too rude a shock with public opinion—they bowed to what is falsely called *expediency*. For all that they affirmed to be the *right* of the slave we plead; *that* we unhesitatingly *demand* not abating a particle of full restitution.

From this struggle for the inalienable rights of our brethren, we cannot turn back if we would. Our opponents, by their violence, falsehoods and anti-republican heresies, are making it more imperative on us to go forward. By proclaiming that slavery cannot be discussed, without sundering the Union, they are showing that slavery threatens to destroy all those blessings for which the Union was formed. If it is true that the Union can be preserved only by our abstaining from moral and constitutional obligations to the slaves in the District of Columbia, the Union is destroyed already, it exists only as an arbitrary despotism. We must be recreant to the sentiments on which our noble constitution is based, if we can be deterred from advocating the rights of man by a threat so absurd—from exercising the very freedom which this constitution was made to guarantee by

the fear of pains and penalties. What is it that we are commanded to sacrifice on the altar of slavery? Is it a matter of dollars and cents? No. It is the freedom of the press, and with it the freedom of thought, the liberty of conscience, and of every generous feeling of the soul. Who is to be benefited by this sacrifice? Not the masters, for their danger lies in the continuance of slavery and may be exchanged for perfect safety by immediate emancipation. Not the slaves, for a change in the moral sentiment of society is their only hope, and the only means by which that change can be effected is a free press. No—the press and its blessings are to be sacrificed, because there is too much light, liberty and philanthropy in the world to have a system of wrong and outrage to go on smoothly.

The same reason that has called for the sacrifice of martyrs in past ages calls now for the chaining of the press and gagging of discussion. Slavery needs the same sort of support that tyranny has always needed. The thrones of Europe have needed the partition of Poland, the shackling of Greece and Belgium, and the strangling at the birth of every infant republic. Who is at a loss, whether the chains now being riveted on the press of France are meant to secure the liberties of the people, or the power of the king? If any of our fellow citizens have become so sick of liberty that they are ready to follow the French king in his retreat towards the dark ages, we do not care to go with them, be they few or many.

Opposition we expect. When did the persecutor and oppressor choose to be exposed and counteracted? Never. We plead the cause of the enslaved. To a share of their sufferings we shall, doubtless, be admitted. Our character and our designs will be assailed. Artifice and violence, in every varied form, and possible combination, we must encounter. The reckless profligate, the wily statesman and the practised hypocrite will unite their influence and join their forces to intimidate and overwhelm the friends of human nature. The private circle and the popular assembly, the pulpit and the press; the hall of legislation and the court of justice, they will as far as they are able, bring into combined subserviency to their foul designs. The history of the past sheds light upon the future. For vindicating the rights of the oppressed, we have already been visited with slander the most malignant, the grossest falsehood, the foulest calumny. From one end of the nation to the other; in church and state; our names have been cast out as evil. The professed saint, and the open sinner; the learned and the rude; the high and the low; the slave-holder of the South and the negro-hater of the North, have entered into a conspiracy against us. Our rights have been invaded, our persons have been abused, our lives have been threatened, But none of these things move us. Our adversaries may ridicule, and denounce, and threaten. They subserve the cause they hate, by forcing it upon the attention of the nation and the world. The loud and angry voices which bid us hold our tongues, will open thousands of ears to hear us. AND WE MUST AND WILL BE HEARD. Ours is

the cause of God, and His suffering poor. The grave alone can impose silence on our lips. In such a cause, better death than treason. We cannot pause in our career. Our course is onward. While we remember *what* we are, *whose* we are, and *where* we are, we shall under the Captain of our salvation, advance directly and resistlessly toward the goal which Heaven has set before us.

TO THE FRIENDS OF IMMEDIATE AND UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

Beloved Brethren—

Recent events connected with the history of our country, have placed the tendencies of the American system of Slavery, in a clear and certain light. It was long ago perceived by discerning and profound observers, that in this system we had an institution for the education of a race of tyrants. The nourishment here afforded to selfishness, and pride, and lust, could not fail to give to those loathsome propensities, a monstrous growth and gigantic strength. The dearest rights and highest interests of human nature in its guiltless children, who by fraud and violence, had been reduced to servitude, American men and women had been accustomed from their earliest childhood, rudely, insolently, recklessly, to trample in the dust. *This they did on system*, encouraged by public sentiment, sustained by prevalent usages, protected by dreadful laws. They were thus trained up to regard their fellow men with insolence or contempt; to wage war upon them whenever and wherever driven to deeds of violence by the demands of interest, the impulses of passion, or even the suggestions of caprice. That, thus trained and incited, they should confine their insolence and assaults to men of a dark complexion was not to be expected. They had been too long accustomed to press the foot of despotic power on the neck of the Afrieo-American to feel any lively and profound respect for the rights of the Anglo-American.

The lordly spirit and despotic bearing of the southern slaveholders have, from time to time, been partially exposed in their intercourse, official and unofficial, with their northern brethren. Specimens, not a little disgraceful and mortifying, we have been compelled again and again to witness and deplore. And with growing concern and alarm, we have seen at the north an increasing disposition to bow to the arrogance and dogmatism of the south. Nowhere has this disposition been more glaringly and offensively displayed, than in the

manner, in which we have been expected, and to a great extent, have consented to treat the colored American. We have been required to join with the south in insulting and oppressing him. And to our shame be it confessed; we have, to a fearful extent, yielded to this requisition. We have given up the trembling, weeping, and often bleeding fugitive to the eager, iron grasp of the man-stealer. We have gone more or less into a conspiracy with slave-holders, to exile from their native land free colored Americans. We have thus, most suicidally, lent our influence to quicken and strengthen and mature the despotic spirit, which the system of American slavery has generated and maintained and protected.

Various and powerful influences for a long time prevented any decisive and extended effort to expose and counteract the deadly tendencies of American slavery. The courtesies of social life, every year increasing; the bustle, dust and din of trade; the intrigues and evils, the scuffling and manœuvering of party politics; the mutual fellowship of professed christians, united in various combinations, all, combined to close the eyes and harden the hearts and seal up the lips of American citizens to the evils of a system, which was every day growing more dangerous and disgraceful. A society moreover had been formed, and extensively and powerfully patronized, to divert the attention of the nation from the emancipation of the enslaved to the expatriation of the free. This, like a huge sponge, sucked up and absorbed those generous sympathies and christian sentiments, which alone could lead to wise and decisive action in behalf of holy freedom.

Be it remembered, however, to the glory of God, who never leaves His truth without a witness, men all along were found in one place and another, whose bosoms yearned over the poor slave. Some of these nobly dared to offer their eyes to the blind; their feet to the lame; their tongues to the dumb. In the face of prejudice, and spite and lordliness, they opened their lips in the cause of the oppressed. They very slowly and gradually drew others into their sympathies and designs. At length, combined action, in the form of Anti-Slavery Societies, was publicly proposed. This furnished the nation with Ithuriel's spear. And the toad, which, unobserved, was breathing its venom into the ear of the republic, at its touch started up a devil! From the hour, when a blind and infuriated mob sacrilegiously broke into the Temple of God, to disperse a little band of fast, devoted, unflinching friends of human nature, met to form the New York City Anti-Slavery Society to the hour when a mob, equally infuriated and blind, sacrilegiously broke into the Temple of God, to disperse the Convention of fast, devoted, unflinching friends of human nature, assembled to form the N. Y. State Anti-Slavery Society, the abolitionists have been assailed in almost every way, which malice could prompt or cunning devise. Now, they have been held up to ridicule, scorn, and contempt; and now to grave abhorence and deadly hate. Now, they have been represented as a little nest of

addle-headed fools and frenzied fanatics, who could best be disposed of by being let alone—passed by in silent neglect; and now as a formidable band of conspirators, who were eager to fill the republic with the flames of discord and the blood of insurrection—who could be satisfied with nothing short of sundering the bonds of our Union and subverting the pillars of our Government; and who ought to be opposed by the arm of Legislation and the thunderbolts of War. The passions of our adversaries, getting the advantage of their reason, have driven them headlong into the strangest and most ridiculous inconsistencies. In the same breath, they have exhorted our fellow citizens to refuse to waste a thought upon us, and invited their attention to what they held up as alarming, shocking expositions of our bad spirit and ill designs. In some places at the north, where strenuous efforts were professedly employed to turn away from us the public eye and the public ear, "indignation—meetings" have been appointed and a stout-lunged crier has been sent through the streets, to ring his bell and strain his throat with the astounding proclamation, that "our unwarrantable proceedings" were at a given time to be publicly exposed for the information and benefit of the entire community. While at the south, it has been maintained as a capital point, that the slaves must be kept in ignorance of the doctrines and movements of their northern friends, vast assemblages of people in many places have been drawn together, furiously to denounce and spitefully to threaten the very men, whose existence and designs they would have kept as a *great secret!* Thousands of people have eagerly rushed to the places, where we had quietly assembled, and filled heaven and earth with their mad clamor and wild tumult, in order by such silent neglect to make us see and feel what insignificant cyphers we were! In order to preserve the dignity of our laws and the majesty of our constitutions from the touch of our hands, they have been ready to tear the one and the other into tatters and scatter them on the winds! In order, amidst our so-called incendiary movements, to maintain the sublime integrity of the glorious Temple of Freedom, they have led into its very sanctuary drunken mobs, to mutter their blasphemies and swing their fire brands. They would cement the Union with the life-blood of those, whom the Union was formed to protect and to bless!

In one breath, our adversaries tauntingly urge us to go to the south with our doctrines and designs; in the next, with childish petulance, they scold at us for our temerity, in presenting our views, and impressing our motives upon the slaveholder. Not long ago, we were told, that we were too poor and weak, to make any impression upon the system of American slavery. In vain, we referred to the power of moral suasion. This was neither steam nor powder. Our arguments, warnings, intreaties—useless breath! The master, calmly serene in the possession of his contented, grateful slaves, would laugh us to scorn. We could not reach his understanding, touch his conscience, or move his heart. He would scarcely trouble himself

enough to know, that we had an existence. Our philanthropy was mere poetry; our logic, a string of glittering abstractions; our best exertions, an idle beating of the air! But the dwarf has become a giant. Moral suasion, it is now seen and acknowledged, has power to reach the slaveholder with arousing, torturing effect. Now, he trembles with fear; and now, raves with madness. At one time, he threatens us with the kidnapper's hand, or the assassin's knife, or the hangman's rope; at an other, he calls upon our fellow citizens around us, to gag and throttle us. Full of wrath, he chivalrously throws into our face and eyes the often repeated declaration, that the guilt and misery which may prevail beyond the limits of the free states is no concern of ours. In much the same style, in which he lords it over his crouching, trembling vassals, he bids us mind our own business. Amidst the chains and whips, the tears and blood, which southern oppression throws around us, he commands us to close our eyes, and shut up our ears, and steel our hearts, and hold our tongues. If we dare to open our lips in the cause of the enslaved, he is ready to "bind himself by a great oath, that he will neither eat nor drink" 'till he has broken the Union over our heads.

Thus insulted and menaced for exercising a right, as obviously and inalienably our own, as the right to see the sun and breathe the air, the RIGHT OF FREE DISCUSSION, we find in our own vicinity, men, who enter into the feelings and adopt the language of the south.—From humanity, crushed and bleeding in the person of an enslaved brother, these men require us to withhold our sympathy and assistance. The only condition, on which they will consent to respect *any of our* rights is, that we join with them in trampling on *all of his!* To bring us to bow to their dictation, they are trying the virtue of every sort of abuse. "Men of high degree, who are a lie," join with "men of low degree, who are vanity" in reducing us to silence; the one by calling us hard names, and the other by throwing stones at us! Thus, are we driven to the necessity of asserting our rights, as men, as Americans and as christians amidst wiles, tumults, and violence, or submitting our necks to the yoke of slavery.

We are thus brought to an awful crisis. The fearful responsibilities of the position, to which an unseen and resistless Hand has conducted us, we cannot refuse to see and feel. We must meanly sell our birthright for a "mess of pottage;" or welcome the agonizing struggles, by which alone so invaluable an inheritance can be defended and preserved. The chains, which were forged for the negro's limbs, the enslaver is resolved to fasten upon ours. To pause in our career—to relax our exertions in the cause of holy freedom, would be basely to lie down at his feet, and let him work his will upon us! The violence of the advocates of slavery has driven things to such a posture, that *now at length the heart of the colored American can only be pierced through the bosom of the white American.*

Of any abolitionist, to whom we may have access, we would most affectionately and earnestly inquire; are you prepared to sustain the

responsibilities of the station, you have ventured to occupy? You stand up between the "living and the dead." The plague, which rages all around you threatens you, with its deadly infection. On what do you rely for protection?

In prosecuting the objects, appropriate to our character, as abolitionists, *let us devote ourselves to the service, and rely on the resources of Jehovah, as the God of the oppressed.* Any reliance merely *human*, must prove vain and deceptive. Of the men, with whom we may have been connected in the transaction of business, what numbers can be found, who are eager to sacrifice us on the altar of trade? When the grim demon of party clamors for our blood, how few of our *political* friends have the courage to resist the murderous demand? How many have already brandished their knives over the victim's head? No confidence can we place in *ecclesiastical* bonds. Touched by the spirit of slavery like flax, touched by fire, they fall, dissolved to ashes. Of all our tempters at the north, none are more wily or more fierce than some of our professedly christian advisers. Of all our malignors at the south, few have been more fiery in their denunciations. How can we forget, that of the self constituted tribunal, which, in mockery of law and equity, condemned one of our own number, to public, cruel scourging—*a number were officers of churches!* We cannot confide in the ties of kindred—the sympathy of blood. We have seen brother opposed to brother; the son rise up against the father! We cannot confide in *ourselves.* With cunning to seduce; and malignity to threaten; and power to intimidate us, our foes will leave no stratagem or expedient untried, to entangle and overpower us. Woe to the man, who in such a cause as ours, may dare to lean to his own understanding! Something more he will need than a hot head, or stiff neck, or stout will, to bear him honorably through such a conflict as awaits us. *The arm of God alone has strength to sustain the shock, to which we are exposed.* And while in subserving the cause of freedom, *we are for God*, we may rest assured, that *He will be with us* in supporting a cause so dear and sacred.

It is our happiness to know, that the doctrines, we maintain, and the objects we pursue are in the strictest, fullest accordance with the principles of the divine government. God is the very fountain head of righteousness. The rights of all His creatures are dear to His heart. In His government, freedom has a bulwark, fixed and firm, as His own eternal Throne. The arrangements of His Providence, taken as a system, are most manifestly and in the highest degree friendly to human freedom; and pointedly and inflexibly adverse to tyranny, under every form and in all circumstances. The tendencies, which are now at work to break up the whole system of American slavery are manifestly very various and resistlessly powerful.—The great dungeon is crumbling to dust by its own weight. Where slavery is, there are cherished indolence, pampered passions, eager, insatiable appetites. There vice grows rank like dunghill weeds.—There are the exhausting wastes of thoughtless prodigality and showy

extravagance. The weight of the burdens and sufferings of the slaves, continually increasing with the growing extravagance and folly, and passions of their master, must become at length intolerable. There are limits beyond which human endurance cannot pass. Bidding a proud defiance to their best friends and wisest counsellors, the masters are every day with suicidal violence, pushing the slaves right onward towards those dreadful limits. Those slaves who are most sternly bent on escaping from their chains, their masters with an infatuation falling little short of downright madness, are collecting together in those places where the rigors of servitude are most insufferable. Thus they are indirectly, but effectually marshalling an army of fierce and fiery heroes, who, driven to desperation by insults and injuries, may one day rush with resistless fury upon their oppressors and tormentors. Where slavery is, the very soil seems to be blighted by the curse of heaven.

That the tendencies to which we have now briefly adverted, are seen and felt to be something more than airy abstractions, the loud and frequent complaints of those who are connected with the system of American slavery, fully demonstrate. In what glowing and terrific terms do they not often describe their fears by day, and their terrors by night? How earnestly, nay passionately, do they not deprecate the influence of free discussion—charging upon it a strong tendency to involve them in all the horrors of insurrection. What agonizing, desperate efforts do they not make to keep their coasts clear of every lover of Liberty! They can no more endure his presence than could the Gadarenes the presence of his master. The scrutiny of his eye and the sound of his voice at any distance, however great, tortures them; and as if afraid of being tormented before the time, they cry out, "Let us alone!" According to their own confession, great numbers of "their best population," find a longer continuance in the infected country intolerable. We only quote the language of one of their own journalists when we say that the "hearts' blood of Virginia" is subject "to a dreadful drain," not likely soon to cease.

Nothing but infatuation could lead the south to charge the evils in which they are involved, the destruction to which they are exposed, to the account of abolitionists. Is the faithful surgeon to be cursed and smitten for seeing and describing the plague-spot which portends the death of his patient;—his speedy death, unless the most prompt and decisive remedies are employed? If every abolitionist on the globe were silent in apostacy or death, the dangers which threaten the south would by no means be diminished. *These dangers are inherent to the system of slavery.* This system in which "all life dies, death lives, breeds

> Perverse, all monstrous, all prodigious things,
> Abominable, unutterable, and worse
> Than fables yet have feigned, or fear conceived."

Could this mother of abominations seat herself upon the silent

grave of abolitionism, would she become less fearfully prolific? Surely not. *It is the harsh collision of slavery with the government of God*, which shakes the south with such terrific thunder. And to charge its stunning peals and burning bolts to abolitionists is to reproach man with the work of God! The south must break up their system of oppression, or break down His righteous government, if they would escape the plagues to which they stand exposed. While then, in all our designs, and methods, and exertions, we carefully conform ourselves to the government, of God, let us confide in Him for direction, support and success. Let us in subserving the cause of freedom, illustrate the doctrines and enforce the precepts of His holy word. The arrangements of His Providence, revealing the natural tendency of things, let us employ with whatever skill and power we have, to convince the nation that slavery is equally wicked and destructive. And let us prayerfully expect, that the spirit and the Providence of God will make our doctrines and our doings efficacious. Thus guided, cheered and sustained, we shall be wise in wisdom, and strong in power, infinitely above our own; the wisdom and the power of God.

It becomes us, moreover, *eagerly and gratefully to appropriate to ourselves those lessons of instruction, and those sources of consolation which the past history of the fast, unflinching, devoted friends of suffering humanity may furnish.* His profound and accurate acquaintance with human nature, our Saviour happily evinced, when he directed His disciples under the pressure of persecution, to remember with exultation "the prophets, who were before them." A lie, however gross, by being frequently and confidently repeated, may not only for a time obtain general credit, but may come at length to be half believed even by its author. The most upright, wise, and enterprising friend of his species may be in no small danger of so far listening to the calumnies which assail his reputation and wound his ear, as to regard his own integrity with painful and enervating distrust. The suspicion may creep upon his heart, that he may have given occasion to his eager and bitter maligners, to reproach and oppose him. His resolution and his strength may thus be greatly reduced. He may waver in his purpose and stagger in his course. Just here he may well be invited to listen to the voice of the Saviour, directing his attention to the history of those, who, in earlier ages exerted themselves to improve the character and condition of mankind. These men are now universally admitted, even by his slanderers, to have been public benefactors. And yet in what light were their objects, methods, motives, represented generally by the devotees of honor, wealth and pleasure, by whom they were surrounded?

Let us survey the shining track of the prophets and apostles, under the guidance and protection of Him "who made Himself of no reputation." Let us study the history of the reformers—of the nonconformists under the tyranny of Elizabeth—of the puritans under the sway of the unprincipled Charles the First—of the dissenters un-

der the administration of Pitt, the younger—of the English Anti-Slavery men of our own and a former age. For asserting the principles to which we adhere; for promulgating the doctrines, in which we believe—for pursuing the objects to which we are devoted—for employing the methods which we have adopted, those wise and holy men—those heroic and gigantic champions of human nature—those generous and efficient benefactors of mankind were held up by the ambitious occupants of high places in Church and State, to general contempt, scorn and persecution, as ultraists, radicalists and hypocrites—as disturbers of the public peace—the foes of their country and the world. Thus traduced, they were subject to almost every species of annoyance, vexation, and distress. The grave statesman, the solemn divine, and stately scholar entered without hesitation, remorse, or shame, into a conspiracy with the low jester, the reckless profligate and spiteful blasphemer to worry and devour them. Here they were exposed to the violence of mobs, and there to the penalties of law, and every where to such insults and injuries, as outlaws only are accustomed to receive.

In obedience to our Saviour let us study, by night and by day let us earnestly study the history of those men, once covered with reproach and now with glory. With theirs, let us compare our aims, exertions, spirit. In fellowship with *them*, we need not be moved by the slanders by which our adversaries would blacken our characters and blast our hopes. With our eye, moreover, fixed on their guilty and miserable persecutors, we may ascertain the condition and prospects of our own. A disposition to resent and retaliate, will give place to the spirit of pity and prayer, when our thoughts are directed to their dreadful end. Thus occupied, we could hardly refuse to appropriate to ourselves the pointed appeal which was once addressed on the authority of God, to the despondent Hebrews—"I, even I am He, that comforteth you; who art thou, that thou shouldest be afraid of a man that shall die, and of the son of man, that shall be made as grass; and forgettest the Lord thy maker, that hath stretched forth the heavens, and laid the foundations of the earth; and hast feared every day because of the fury of the oppressor, as if he were ready to destroy? *And where is the fury of the oppressor?*" Ah, with our eyes upon his dreadful end, we may well respond to the pointed appeal—where is the fury of the oppressor.

And while we remember the prophets which were before us, how can we despair of success? Truth stands erect, serene, majestic, above the reach of the execrations, filth and stones, with which our adversaries would overwhelm her. She cannot be hissed out of countenance—cannot be crushed by violence, whatever may become of her advocates, she is great and must prevail. *And her prevalence is our victory and glory.*

Well then may we be *urged to extend to our oppressed brethren such a measure of sympathy and assistance, as we should think due to the Lord Jesus Christ, if He were placed in their circumstances.* In the

claims, which they have upon our benevolent regard, the Saviour, in the most solemn circumstances and in the most explicit and emphatic language, describes Himself as their representative. To make His description the more pointed and impressive, He selects the meanest of them all, and sitting him before us amidst the terrors and the glories of the day of judgement, authoritatively assures us that our regard for him will be taken as our regard for our Saviour, Lord and Final Judge. "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me." Suppose then that in the District of Columbia, Jesus Christ had been seized, thrown into prison, loaded with irons, fed with bread and water, His bed a heap of straw, dragged forth at length to the public auction, rudely handled and grossly insulted by the throng which had assembled to bid upon his sacred person, driven under the lash of the task-master to the toils and sufferings of the helpless slave, cut off from the sympathy of friends and the communion of saints, and doomed by the strong arm of law to perpetual and intolerable bondage with the hearty consent of the official interpreters of the bible, the ministers of religion, the loud and lofty professors of universal philanthropy, what would our whole nature with a resistless impulse constrain us to attempt on His behalf? Every fact in the history of His abduction, His imprisonment, His sale at the public auction, His connection with the man who claimed his bones and muscles, His soul and body as his property, we should lay hold of with the deepest interest. We should feel the weight of every burden laid upon His shoulders; the force of every blow with which His flesh was lacerated. The insults and the injuries heaped upon Him would be felt to be all our own. He would be continually present to our thoughts. Wherever we went, and whatever we did, we should see before us His sacred form, loaded with chains. Thus the searching appeal, "Am I not a man and a brother," would in thunder tones be continually ringing in our ears.

What would such appeals rouse us to attempt? No violence, surely. By force of arms, we should not think of rescuing Him from servitude, lest the rebuke which once constrained Peter to return his sword to its sheath, should fall heavily upon us. In an effort to subserve the cause of our Saviour, we should feel bound to cherish the temper of our Saviour, the spirit of strong faith, fervent love, and earnest prayer. Our weapons, however, while they were not carnal, would still be mighty. We should improve every opportunity, and employ every lawful means, and strain every nerve, to work in the bosoms of all around us, a deep sense of the mighty wrongs which were inflicted on the Saviour. In *moral suasion*, more powerful than the edge of the sword, we should find the very instrument, which, well directed and skilfully wielded, could not fail under God to work deliverance for our Saviour. With what energy and decision should we not exert ourselves in an enterprise so dear to earth and heaven? What an honor should we not count it to consecrate our talents and

our wealth to an object so sublime and heavenly? Nor should we pause in our upward course, whatever obstacles might be wantonly or malignantly thrown in our way. We should not count our lives dear to us, if in finishing the work committed to us, such a sacrifice were demanded.

While then, beloved brethren, you remember that in each of the two million two hundred and fifty thousand slaves in our republic, you have kneeling in silent agony before you, one, who in his claims upon your affectionate regard and benevolent exertions is an accredited representative of your Saviour, we cannot admit the thought for a moment, that you can relax your efforts in the cause of holy freedom. With a fervent spirit, a prayerful heart, and a firm step, you will hold on your way. You will never relax your exertions till the system of American slavery is utterly, universally, and forever abolished.

To your work and your reward you have direct and free access. You need not inquire who shall plead the cause of the oppressed in the legislatures of the slave-holding States. You have ground of your own, where your own representatives wait to know your will: men, who are sacredly bound to listen with respectful attention and a candid spirit to your arguments and appeals in behalf of the dumb. The District of Columbia is before you. No just authority on earth can forbid you there to exert your influence and put forth your powers. And remember that whatever may be done in the cause of freedom there, cannot but affect the whole republic. The blow, which there may break the servile yoke, will shake it from the neck of every slave in the nation.

When shall that blow be struck? Every hour's delay makes the task more arduous. It is as obvious, as it is afflictive, mortifying and portentous, that with every hour the men in this country who aspire after the distinctions of aristocracy, are becoming more thoroughly infected with the spirit of slavery. What numbers can be found, who only a few years ago nobly opposed what they now meanly defend—the foulest system of oppression, which ever afflicted and disgraced the world! Some of these are even attempting to prepare the public mind to see a new shield thrown over southern slavery in northern legislation. We cannot afford to lose a moment. The attention of the nation is now aroused. The public ear is open. The dastardly and ruthless hands, which have attempted to strangle free discussion, have cleared the way before us. Those clamors, in which they have assayed to drown our voices, have roused up myriads of sleepers. Rising from their slumbers, they are demanding the cause of this strange disturbance. Now is the time to speak. If we permit the present general excitement to pass away, without making it powerfully subservient to the cause of holy freedom, the heart of the nation will harden into flint-stone; to be broken only by the thunders of the Avenger of the oppressed. Every moment is pregnant with results of unutterable magnitude. Let us repair then, to the altar of

God, and in the spirit of the martyr consecrate ourselves under Jesus Christ our Lord to the Redemption of bleeding humanity!

EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS ADDRESSED TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE CONVENTION.

DOVER, N. H., OCT. 16, 1835.

To the Chairman of the A. S. Convention, to be holden in Utica the 21st inst.:

Sir—Having been appointed by the Board of Managers of the N. H. A. S. Society, as a delegate to attend your convention, allow me to express the regret which I feel in not being able to fulfil that appointment. To mingle in your councils and to bear with you some humble instrumentality, in advancing the christian and patriotic enterprise upon which you are to deliberate, would afford me the highest gratification. But circumstances beyond my control prevent my attendance. I cannot, however, forbear to express the very deep interest which I feel in your meeting, and especially in the result of your proceedings. My prayer to God is, that your deliberations and decisions may be characterised by wisdom, the "wisdom which is from above," by energy, and an inflexible adherence to the great and distinctive principles of our cause.

It appears to me that the slavery question has now arrived at a very interesting juncture, when it is especially important that the friends of liberty should stand firm to their principles. [Any flinching on the part of the friends of immediate emancipation, at this time, might seriously prejudice our cause and throw us back to a distance from which we should not soon recover.]

Notwithstanding the fierce opposition which we have experienced for a few months past, I believe that the principles of liberty are steadily advancing, for though principalities and powers are marshalled against us, though the opposing wave roll fearfully onward, there is an under current evidently setting strongly the right way.

No enterprize appears to me of such magnitude as the one which calls you together. I love the Bible, Temperance, Missionary and other benevolent institutions of the age, but what heart can I have to labor for the heathen on the other side of the Globe, while more than two millions of my own countrymen are doubly heathenized, legally and systematically shut out from the light of life? How can I escape the charge of hypocrisy and gross inconsistency, if, while I labor for the one I neglect the other? "These ought ye to have done and not to leave the other undone."

Sir, this abomination *must* be rolled out of the way. It is indispensable to our country's prosperity and to the world's redemption. The most formidable obstacle now, to the complete and speedy triumph of our enterprise, I do not hesitate to say, is the reluctance to action manifested by so many of our beloved christian brethren. If the friends of Zion of different denominations, and especially the ministers of the Gospel, would come up cordially to this great work, and present a united and firm phalanx, the horrid system of slavery, in our land, could not long endure. The minister of Christ who stands back from action in these times scotches the wheels of this enterprize and lends his influence to perpetuate slavery.

To conclude, allow me to say, sir, our reliance must be upon God, upon christian principle. Let all that we do, be accompanied with prayer, and with a deep sense of our dependence upon God for the success of our efforts and measures.

With these suggestions, permit me to say, that though necessarily absent in body, be assured, I am present with you in spirit, and my prayer is, and shall be, that the God of the oppressed may guide your counsels.

With sentiments of great respect, I am yours, &c.

DAVID ROOT.

Bedford, October 15, 1835

Most fully do I concur with you as to the importance of the proposed convention, but your partiality leads you to overrate the importance of my presence in it. Our hopes of success are founded under God, on the truth of our principles, the uprightness of our intentions, and the lawfulness of our measures; unconnected with politics, and having no object whatever but to persuade our fellow citizens of the north and of the south, that the black man is equally with the white, entitled by his Creator to be treated with justice and humanity; abolitionists are but little dependent on any of their associates, except as their agents.

Domestic engagements will put it out of my power to meet with you on the 21st: may He in whose cause we are embarked, direct and prosper your consultations, to the advancement of his glory, the good of his church, and the safety and welfare of our common country.

That slavery will ultimately cease, it would be both foolish and sinful to doubt. The experience of past ages, the example and spirit of the present, and the declarations of prophecy, all announce its doom; but its dying struggles will probably be violent and protracted. It is to be expected, that where there is a competition for southern trade, and southern votes, large numbers will err on the subject of slavery, be more governed by interest, than by conscience. Hence most of the anti-abolition measures, are mere matters of course, and should excite neither surprise nor alarm. The most painful and disheartening indication of the times in relation to slavery, is the apathy or rather complacency with which it is regarded by the church. We are daily entreated by the ministers of the Most High, to send bibles and missionaries to the ends of the earth, while too many of these very ministers seem to be utterly indifferent to the welfare of *a nation kept in compulsory heathenism* in the very midst of us—they inculcate the morality of the gospel but refrain from condemning a system which outrages every precept of that morality—they pray that the kingdom of God may come, and his will be done, and yet refuse to aid in removing what they well know must while it remains, render their prayers fruitless—nay, some of them glory in proclaiming to the world that they are not abolitionists!

Let *us* my dear sir, not only pray, but work and let us joyfully bear a reproach which we may be assured will not follow us to the bar of our Maker; yet let us ever remember in all humility and watchfulness, that our efforts to be accepted there, must be prompted by christian principle, and conducted in a christian spirit.

Yours, very respectfully,

WILLIAM JAY.

Gloucester, (Mass.) Oct. 19, 1835.

It is like a cordial to my spirit, to receive the notice given by your A. S. S., and its invitation to a state convention, about to be held at Utica; and had it been in my power to have been with you, in that meeting, this soul feels, that it would have been as its highest joy to have mingled with those free-born souls, as if a drop were added to the collection of waters prepared for washing away our national stains, which render us a reproach amongst the nations, and fearful to

ourselves. I most heartily respond to the sentiments expressed in connexion with the invitation, which has come across state boundaries, even to me as one holding the principles of the Am. A. S. S. I believe that we have arrived at such a crisis in our political morals, that the most cordial co-operation and energetic action of the friends of human rights are now demanded; and that upon the issue of the present conflict, very seriously depend the cause of humanity and religion, at least, in this land so boasted, free. And I trust that He who hears the sighs of the oppressed, will by the spirit of His wisdom be present with you in all your deliberations, and inspire you with that zeal which shall be imitative of our blessed Lord and Saviour—bringing good to man, and glory to God. This proposed convention reminds me of that held nearly two years since in Philadelphia, which I had the privilege to attend—the object of which was *not* to rouse the nation to arms, but to promote humble repentance for our nation's sins, and to prepare ourselves to do what we can as citizens, christians and philanthropists, for the removal of the most unrighteous, debasing despotism from our midst. How any patriot or any true lover of liberty—any one with the feelings of a man, when in view of fellow beings unrighteously suffering, can withhold his active commiseration, seems hard to interpret. At any rate, the answer, if made most charitably, would not appear very consistent with the principles which such an one claims to hold. The like might be said, with a thrice forcible emphasis, in relation to the amazing indifference and even opposition, which this cause meets from some of our professedly christian brethren and friends. But perhaps the desire on the part of some rather to suffer peaceably than to gain, by means of strife, that which is justly their due, may serve as some apology for the neutrality which they think it safe to hold. I cannot, however, deem that to be innocent which leads either patriot or christian to regard our civil code as so perfect, infallible a rule of justice and guaranty of right to all, that there is no opportunity nor call, for the salutary moral influence of the one, or for the prompt conscientious political action of the other. But what, dear sir, is the stirring cause for calling this convention? Is it the mere *inconvenience* of having a portion of men classed with the brute beasts? Or is it to defend your right of speech, in counting men as men, and horses as horses, and despots, in the fair garb of liberty, as despots still? Is it to wake up an old political grudge which ought to be forgotten, and lay the charge of our misfortunes on the head of the dead, and there to sing a requium to your vengeance? Or is it in view of our *national guilt*, which has, for the last seventy years, been gathering as a dark, dense cloud, and which, with frequent flash, full charged with judgments, now threatens to burst upon those whose hands are stained with the blood of the enslaved, and on the whole mass of their abetters? Ah, this is it—this it is—you seem to answer, which has moved to the call of such a convention. This is the subject which will lie before the meeting. May Jehovah, then, who hears the cries of the humble, and regards the groans of the oppressed, give you wisdom and strength, so to raise your voices, that the cry of fanaticism and radicalism, shall be hushed; whilst repentance and righteousness and peace shall, as a pure river of life flow over every portion of our land. And then shall our nation's banner be washed pure of the stains of slavery—and this ensign of Liberty, pointing to our land as the refuge of the oppressed, shall be cheered with the favoring smiles of the Most High, and reflect light and joy over a world, the dark places of which are full of the habitations of cruelty. But if we are to suffer by seeking this blessing, what then? I have suffered, and if still called to suffer in this cause, it is my hope never to forget to plead for mercy and right towards my brethren and sisters in bonds.

Accept this as the voice of Yours,

In the cause of mercy and right.

D. E. JEWETT.

CINCINNATI, OCT. 12, 1835.

* * * * * * * * * *

The formation of an Anti-Slavery Society for the state of New York, is, at this juncture, a most important movement. It made my heart rejoice when I heard that such a thing was in contemplation—and my desire is behind no one's, that it may be made as beneficially instrumental in advancing the cause of righteousness as its projectors intend it to be.

The demands of the south are insolent in the extreme—an outrage on all the principles and usages of a free people. As insulting as they are, and fitted as they are to arouse the most indignant and unsparing retort, yet do I trust that your convention will meet them with the calm dignity of men who know their rights—and knowing, dare, in the fear of God, to maintain them. The south demands of you a surrender of the only safeguard of liberty. What will be left, that is precious, of this republic—when the freedom of speech and the liberty of the press shall have been destroyed! Nothing. Yet these have been demanded of you—and for what equivalent in return? That you may enjoy the profits of slavery, and the favor of the oppressor of his fellow. Is this sufficient for the north! Have the friends of liberty every where so mistaken her? Is it true that she is willing, at the command of the slaveholder, not less dictatorial than when delivered, whip in hand, to his helpless slave, come before him, suppliantly beg his pardon for thinking and speaking as freemen, and submissively lay at his feet, all that is dear to us and to our country? Can it be, that the very first generation of your revolutionary fathers think that slavery is dearer and more precious than the glorious principles for which their sires contended! I will not yet believe it. Still will I trust there is in our land a redeeming spirit—a spirit of *truth*, *religion*, and *liberty*, that can be roused; and, being roused, will shake off this vile incumbrance, *slavery*, as easily as the lion shakes the dew-drop from his mane.

I need not say, I have no apprehension, that there will be a surrender by the convention of any *principle*. I feel confident, there will not. Let it be felt that the struggle in which we are engaged, has become one on whose result is hazarded, not only the freedom of the black man, but of ourselves, our children, our country, the world. We can yield no principle without weakening, if not destroying, ourselves. I could say much, but I am compelled to desist. May the spirit of the Lord direct your proceedings.

Your friend, and fellow laborer,

JAMES G. BIRNEY.

SCHENECTADY, N. Y., OCT. 12, 1835.

The undersigned, members of Union College, to the New York State Anti-Slavery Convention:

If we look around on our country, we see one-sixth of our population in the lowest depths of degradation. We see them considered and treated as brutes and as "chattels, personal," liable at any time as may suit the interest or the caprice of irresponsible masters to be bought and sold. They are slaves in a "land of liberty." They are slaves in the "freest nation in the world." They are debased in the midst of the most enlightened people. They are heathens in a "land of Bibles and of religion." Ignorant in the midst of intelligence.—They are, by an abrogation of God's holy law, deprived of those privileges which we consider as essential in the securing of our own salvation. All this wickedness has been and is now sustained by men calling themselves christians: it is not condemned by the christian church. The whole system is sanctioned and perpetuated by the public sentiment of the nation.

This state of things calls loudly for the vengeance of the Almighty upon us, and renders our very existence as a nation more than problematical. We be-

lieve that this deplorable state of things is a sin; by consequence, it ought *immediately* to cease. That it may cease, we pledge our efforts to co-operate with you in hastening that time when the sentiments—both in letter and spirit—of the "Declaration of Independence," shall be acknowledged, and "equal rights" shall be the watchword of all.

Peter Snyder,	I. G. Durgee,	D. C. Frost,
A. Mc Neil, Jr.	S. W. Stoddard,	H. W. Gilbert,
A. Reid.	T. Spencer,	D. Kelly,
P. S. Danforth,	Wm. Erwin,	S. W. Hall,
R. L. Smith,	A. P. Phelps,	O. N. Stodard,
W. H. Backus,	P. J. Timlow,	C. W. Torrey,
J. F. Wells.	C. Leavenworth,	Geo J. King,
J. W. Longe,	S. Perry,	J. F. Scovill,
Henry H. Loomis,	Tho. Stalker,	S. S. Leighton,
H. H. Loomis,	E. B. Vedder,	J. C. Hill,
Geo. L. Le Row,	J. M. Austin,	Wm. K. Mc Dougall,
C. Bradley,	R. Doig, Jr.	E. F. Cushman,
S. Abel,	J. E. Lansing,	M. Hall,
L. D. Baldwin,	D. Swolee,	E. H. Hawley

NAMES OF THE DELEGATES TO THE STATE ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION, IN UTICA, OCT. 21, 1835.

J. G. Prentiss,	S. S. Bradford,	R. Lyman,
J. Bradley, Esq.	Rev. F. Shipperd,	H. Pecunix,
A. Neely,	G. Genet,	R. Gould,
C. Waterbury,	I. S. Platt,	L. C. Brownson,
I. Crane, Jun.	W. Dewey,	C. Carlkins,
E. Hall,	Rev. J. A. Hart,	R. Jackson,
J. M. Ketchum,	E. McAll,	A. Scofield,
O. P. Conklin,	B. Basset,	Dr. D. Bingham,
O. H. Havens,	I. Platt,	J. M. Andrews,
E. Eddy,	W. Burr,	O. C. Brown,
Mr. Perry,	G. Dean, jun.	I. Mills,
Rev. H. Snyder,	J. P. McCord,	T. Davis,
W. Avery,	E. Crofield,	A. Warriner,
E. Lee,	S. Thompson,	O. Prescott,
Rev. G. Spalding,	Rev. A. Palmelee,	E. Holcomb,
J. S. Fitch,	L. A. Skinner,	J. Bunce,
J. Copland, jun.	E. A. Marsh,	G. Cross.
Rev. S. Hawley,	A. George,	W. B. Armstrong,
J. W. Fox.	Rev. W. Childs.	Rev. H. Jones,
S. Carver,	Rev. W. Arthur.	J. A. Northrup, jun

L. Smith,
H. Smith,
Rev. E. Childs,
H. L. Hammond,
Rev. E. E. Pool,
T. B. Watson, esq.
Rev. H. Foot,
W. J. Savage,
I. Bowen,
L. Lamson,
L. Bushnell,
Gen. J. A. Northrop,
Dr. D. Perry,
Rev. J. L. Crandall,
A. K. Hinsdale,
R. Sleeper, esq.
Rev. J. Ingersol,
W. M. Clark,
A. Kingsbury, esq.
H. Van Dresser,
Rev. J. W. Spoor,
M. Tucker,
E. Lewis,
J. M. Parker,
A. Gilbert,
B. Snow,
J. Foot, esq.
J. C. Burnell,
J. W. Pratt,
D. C. Vannerman,
Dr. F. Rice,
A. Raymond,
A. B. Deforest,
R. Brown,
I. M. Diamond,
L. W. Gilbert,
Rev. J. Leavitt,
L. Tappan,
W. A. Holdrige,
J. H. Parker,
D. Kennedy,
L. C. Gunn,
J. Cragin,
D. Ruggles,
W. Erving,
G. Davidson,
A. Stewart,
J. Snyder,

Rev. S. H. Gridley,
Rev. A. Ennis,
S. F. [illegible],
J. [illegible],
Dr. A. [illegible],
L. [illegible], jun.
E. [illegible],
W. [illegible],
S. [illegible],
J. W. [illegible],
E. [illegible],
E. Lewis, esq.
E. Lewis,
J. M. [illegible],
W. [illegible],
S. [illegible],
W. [illegible],
E. [illegible],
C. R. [illegible],
E. B. [illegible],
G. [illegible],
A. [illegible],
T. [illegible],
E. [illegible],
A. A. [illegible],
N. [illegible],
Dr. M. [illegible],
S. [illegible],
M. W. Leland,
R. C. [illegible],
J. F. [illegible],
W. Clark,
W. Farwell,
E. A. [illegible],
J. F. [illegible], esq.
A. B. Rumsey,
B. Sayre,
R. G. Williams,
G. H. [illegible],
G. A. [illegible],
Dr. T. [illegible],
T. O. [illegible],
Rev. A. Ingersol,
J. [illegible],
S. R. Hathaway,
J. T. [illegible],
J. C. [illegible],
Rev. O. Wetmore,

O. F. Parker,
P. [illegible],
N. [illegible],
Rev. M. Smith,
O. [illegible],
W. P. St. Johns,
J. [illegible],
F. B. Ward,
J. [illegible],
E. [illegible],
A. E. Coleman,
F. [illegible],
H. [illegible],
W. [illegible],
[illegible],
H. [illegible],
Rev. L. [illegible],
J. [illegible],
[illegible],
[illegible],
L. [illegible],
Rev. W. B. Tompkins,
[illegible],
[illegible],
[illegible],
[illegible],
G. [illegible],
W. [illegible],
E. [illegible],
W. [illegible],
R. [illegible],
Rev. S. [illegible],
J. W. Higgins,
Rev. D. Clark,
C. [illegible],
E. [illegible],
S. D. Childs,
W. S. Dorr,
W. H. [illegible],
[illegible],
[illegible],
W. [illegible],
C. H. [illegible],
Dr. J. W. Smith,
[illegible],
R. W. [illegible],
S. Kellogg,
S. Lightbody,
Rev. A. Savage,

Rev. J. B. Shaw,
Rev. B. Green,
Dr. N. Sherrill,
Rev. H. Blodgett,
H. Bingham,
S. Lyman,
Rev. E. Fairchild,
Rev. A. Mills,
J. A. Reed,
J. Wells,
F. D. Porter,
R. Seymour,
L. Prince,
W. Gates,
J. G. Kellogg,
J. Prescott,
C. McLane,
W. B. Rawson,
J. Dodge,
W. S. Gale,
Dr. A. Holbrook,
A. Hitchcock,
G. Stedman,
A. Hunt,
A. Guy,
F. A. Gray,
W. H. Gray,
J. P. Guest,
Rev. S. Wells,
N. Miller,
H. P. Barnes,
B. D. White,
E. M. Higby,
J. S. Griffin,
A. D. Barbour,
H. Elmer,
Rev. A. Sedgwick,
Dr. A. Blair,
Rev. J. Frost,
I. Tibbitts,
G. Butler,
A. Seymour,
Dr. E. Loomis,
J. Townsend, jun.
M. S. Losey,
T. McFarland,
W. Buchanan,
W. K. Tibbitts,

I. Grant,
D. Foster,
S. B. Roberts, esq.
H. G. Loomis,
A. Hotchkiss,
J. S. Lattimore,
G. L. Dickinson,
J. P. Guest,
J. F. Temple,
E. Barnes,
J. Vanderheyden,
O. Kendall,
J. J. Ward,
A. Wells,
I. Thurber,
O. N. Worden,
L. P. Rising,
T. M. Martin,
J. Clark,
C. R. Beadle,
L. S. Kellogg,
H. Newland,
R. C. Thomas,
R. Debnam,
David Lynus,
Rev. C. Avery,
Rev. H. H. Kellogg,
Dr. S. W. Stewart,
J. Powel,
W. Alexander,
Rev. E. H. Merrell,
S. H. Skinner,
J. Skinner,
M. Prentiss,
G. Hays,
Dr. E. Judd,
D. Shapley,
Mr. Prescott,
W. Gates,
R. Seymour,
L. Prince,
Dr. A. H. Kellogg,
J. Wood,
N. Cobb,
D. A. Holbrook,
L. Bliss,
G. Pocock,
J. Mann,

C. Ramis,
H. Crane,
A. Gray,
F. A. Gray,
V. S. Lovell,
J. W. Wood,
F. A. Spencer,
J. F. Griffin,
S. P. Hough,
W. Smith,
R. Tyler,
A. D. Barber,
S. Bryant,
H. Elmer,
C. C. Mitchell,
A. McKellur,
G. Waldo,
J. O. Wattles,
P. A. Anderson,
A. G. Beeman,
J. A. Canfield,
W. B. Ransom,
D. C. Wilbour,
F. C. Woodworth,
A. Frissett,
C. D. Wolcott,
C. F. Parmelee,
H. P. Ward,
A. Robinson,
S. Parmele,
R. Pratt,
C. Judson,
B. S. Groves,
J. Townsend, esq.
G. St. George,
R. Ellinwood,
A. Flint,
M. Brayton,
I. Norton,
I. Norton, jun.
D. Burrows,
F. Southworth,
S. Storrs,
S. H. Addington,
J. T. Lyman,
S. M Perine,
W. L. Rogers,
W. G. Miller,

Rev. M. Harrison,	G. A. Avery,	C. P. Bush,
E. Patterson,	W. W. Rose,	A. I. Burr,
J. S. Judd,	O. N. Bush,	S. Ellicott,
Rev. N. Culver,	O. Sage,	E. Stilson,
Dr. H. Carliss,	P. Pease,	S. Davis,
W. H. Worcey,	O. P. Avery,	P. Cherry,
Rev. T. Powell,	H. B. Sherman,	Rev. R. Clapp,
J. F. Scovill,	G. A. Hollister,	Rev. E. Wheeler,
A. P. Beebee,	R. Graves,	D. Forset,
Dr. C. Cook,	A. Cargill,	D. Crouch,
C. Foster,	D. Sturges,	Rev. I. I. Fulton,
A. B. Smith,	S. S. Nicholas,	S. Cornell,
J. C. Hathaway,	T. P. Marshall,	L. W. Sibley,
Rev. R. Robinson,	A. Norton,	S. Hamilton,
Rev. M. Tucker,	Hon. H. Brewster,	M. Galusha,
A. H. Stevens,	Rev. A. G. Hall,	A. Nuby,
T. C. Baker,	Rev. R. Clapp,	H. Iverson, Jr.
J. C. Jackson,	Rev. R. De Forest,	C. N. Mattoon,
A. S. Savage,	T. Bissell,	E. B. Crane,
W. Goit,	O. Stone,	H. N. Robinson,
J. Clark,	J. Bloss,	F. S. How,
E. Griffin,	L. M. Moore,	J. Mosher,
Rev. L. Myrick,	E. Moore,	S. Sawtell,
C. Marshall,	M. Atwater,	G. Donah,
R. McFarland,	Rev. A. P. Brooks,	J. Talman,
S. Cole,	S. Stanley,	R. R. Palmer,
I. T. Headly,	C. C. Foote,	A. B. Smith,
N. Marvin,	C. Avery,	C. Mosher,
K. Savage,	Rev. I. T. Avery,	S. A. Rawson,
G. Sherman.		

DELEGATES FROM OTHER STATES.

Col. George H. Leavitt,	Mass.	Rev. George Storrs,	N. H.
Seth Strong, Esq.	"	Publeman Bliss,	Ohio,
Moses Breck.	"	Albert Bliss,	"
Hart Leavitt.	"		

The above list of names was principally taken at Peterboro, at the meeting of the society the next day after the convention. The convention at Utica was broken up by a mob and the delegates dispersed soon, so that no roll of the delegates was there made. Efforts have been made to procure the names of all those delegates who arrived at Utica, but from many counties represented in the convention we have been unable to procure the names of the delegates. It is confidently believed, that could we procure all the names, the number would be swelled to nine hundred or one thousand.

NOTE.—HENRY WHITE, M. D., of Yorkton, Westchester county, has been appointed Vice President, in the place of John Owen, declined.

WERT
BOOKBINDING
Grantville Pa
Jan Feb 1989